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ABSTRACT

The following papers were presented at a research preconference on the implications of Afrocentrism for adult education: "The African American Adult Education Pre-Conference: Historical Reflections" (Colin); "The Perspective 'Is' the Paradigm: The Congruence of World View and Research Methodology" (Dozier-Henry); "Self-employment Skills Training; Educational Survival Strategy for Adult with Low Skills: A Model for Oral Instruction" (Smith); "African-Americans in Adult Education: Outline for a Course of Study" (Smith); "Feminist Theory and the Social Construction of Knowledge: The Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender. An Africentric Feminist Educational Perspective" (Garth); "'As quiet as a church in prayer We come from otherwhere': An Exploration of Professional Identity Formation in Two African American Women Adult Educators" (Closson); "Making a Way Out of No Way: An Examination of the Educational Narratives of Reentry Black Women with Emphasis on Issues of Race, Gender, Class, and Color" (Johnson-Bailey); "Comparative Analysis of Planning within Community-based Empowerment Program Models (for Health Promotion): Implications for African Americans" (Carter); "Inadequate Funding of Extension at the Historically Black Land-grant Colleges" (Ukaga, Pezeshki-Raad, Thomson); "Learning in Black Greek Letter Societies: 'An Unrecognized Collaborative Approach to Adult Education'" (Croom); "African American Achievement Program: Culturally Grounded Academic Program for the Community College African American Adult Learner" (Cherry-Smith); "Education for Self-knowledge: Students' Self-awareness in Response to Literature by African-American Women" (Blacksher); "The Black Church: A Model of Africentric Adult Education and Leadership Development for Personal and Community Empowerment" (Misap); and "The Higher and Professional Education of African Americans Prior to 1865: Some Implications for Adult Education" (Irvine). Many papers contain substantial bibliographies. (MN)

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Africentrism—Perspective or Paradigm? Implications for Adult Education

Proceedings of the African American Adult Education Research Pre-Conference

at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville
May 18 & 19, 1994
Knoxville, Tennessee

Editors: Dr. Talmadge C. Guy, The University of Georgia

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- The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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- The University of Georgia
- San Francisco State University
- The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Greetings

Dear Participants:

On behalf of the African America pre-Conference Steering committee, we thank you for your continuing support of our efforts. Over the past two years we have provided a forum for African American adult education scholars and others to engage in a discourse on issues affecting the African Diaspora. Moreover, we have attempted to give emerging scholars an opportunity to share their research and their ideas in a supportive and encouraging environment.

This year's pre-conference theme–Africentrism: Perspective or Paradigm? Implications for Adult Education provided us with an opportunity to explore African ways of knowing. Scholars of African ancestry gave us an opportunity to discuss the Africentric and Africentric feminist constructions of knowledge; racism, sexism and multiculturalism; culturally-grounded community based models in health and the community college; the role of women in leadership; and critical consciousness, empowerment, and employment. The dialogue that surfaced during these sessions was very powerful and meaningful.

When we began this journey we did not know what we would find. We were certain, however, that there was a *voice* that we had not heard. And we wanted to make sure that we gave people an opportunity to share their voice and to get feedback from others of like voice. We recognized that there would be some resistance, but we knew that if we focused on excellence, we would find it.

We believe that we achieved that goal. The willingness of presenters to submit their ideas to panel for peer review and their willingness to express their ideas within the oral tradition of the African community, as well as in print is a testament to our struggle for excellence in all that we do. We are quite sure that the voices that we have heared from in the past two years represent the triumphs and the tribulations of those living in the African diaspora. We also know that there are many others that should be heard.

We would also like to thank those who attended these sessions and engaged in the discourse with these scholars. Your presence at both Pre-conferences warmed and hearts and our minds. We hope that each scholar of African ancesty as well as those who have attended these pre-conferences have found them as rewarding and stimulating as we have. As we pass on the baton, we would like to *begin* (for this is not the end) by saying:

Imani

(keep the faith with each other)

<u>African American Pre conference co-planners</u>

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The African American Adult Education Pre-Conference: Historical Reflections

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Six years ago, two former Northern Illinois University (NIU) students met during an AAACE conference and discussed the need to host a conference that would explore and analyze adult education issues specifically related to those persons of African ancestry. Attempts were made to host a conference in Chicago, Illinois. In the summer of 1991 a group of students of African ancestry and adult education faculty members at Northern Illinois University turned this idea into reality.

A symposium series was discussed and planned to address the concerns of those of African ancestry in adult education. Two symposia were planned and conducted between October 1991 and may 1993. The first symposium was held in DeKalb, Illinois in October 1991. The purpose of this two day symposium was to discuss the necessity of conducting research on issues affecting persons of African descent. Five African American scholars participated I that event: Drs. Scipio A. J. Colin III, North Carolina State University, Dr. Edwin Hamilton, Howard University, Dr. Jovita Ross-Gordon, Penn State University, Dr. Elizabeth Peterson, University of South Carolina, and Dr. Laverne Gyant, Penn State University. This event was attended by more than fifty adult educators — faculty and graduate students.

The second symposium, co-sponsored by Northern Illinois University, Malcolm X college, and the Adult Education Research Consortium) was held at Malcolm X college in Chicago, Illinois in October 1992. The intent of this symposium was to bridge the divide between theory and practice by inviting African American adult education practitioners to discuss adult education issues of importance in the African and African American community. The need to explore, analyze and discuss the contributions of members of the African Diaspora had only just begun!

In May 1993, the first national pre-conference was held at Pennsylvania State University. The theme for this Preconference was *A Link for Community Development and Empowerment.* Seventeen individuals of African ancestry the United States and Africa presented some very exciting research in adult education. Over 40 individuals attended the conference. Following the successful conclusion of this conference a second pre-conference was planned and held in May 1994 in Knoxville, Tennessee. The papers contained in these Proceedings represent those adult educators who presented at that conference.

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The Perspective Is The Paradigm: The Congruence of World View and Research Methodology

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Abstract

This paper affirms the analysis offered by African-centered scholars that links perspective or world view, to systems of inquiry, or research paradigm. The thesis posits that the North/South axis of human thought and development led to divergent, oppositional responses which account for the tension between Africentrism and Eurocentrism.

The congruence between world view and research methodology is the focus of this inquiry. Research methodology is understood as the way phenomena, particularly human phenomena, are approached by culturally-sanctioned inquiry. Dixon (1976) thoroughly explored the relationship of world view and research methodology. He posited that "research methodology has world view specificity, which results from differences in axiology, epistemology, and logic" (p.63). The importance of Dixon's work has been overlooked. African-centered scholars are still called upon to "slay dragons" that Dixon levelled almost two decades ago. Ani's (1994) Africentric masterpiece, a resourceful inquiry into European thought and behavior, is referred to extensively in this paper.

Milam (1992) acknowledges that the debate over Afrocentric (*sic*) methods takes place at the level of paradigms. Africentricity is seen as a new paradigm departing from critical theory, feminist theory, constructivism and naturalistic inquiry. The irrecusable assertions of Africentric scholars form the body of the thesis: that **Africentricity is a paradigm emanating from a particular world view.** The features of this world view are oppositional to the dominant Eurocentric one. Below, several questions probe the formation and connotation of world view and the contrast of paradigms. The presumed supremacy of the Western paradigm should be questioned since its lens distorts other realities. African people in particular, tend to be conceptually incarcerated in an ontological landscape not their own.

1. What is world view?

A culture's world view is believed by its members to be the perfect pattern of the universe. It is a set of culturally and ethnocentrically defined parameters within which the environment can be defined and have meaning. A culture's world view, like its response to time and space, is invisible, crucial and overlooked as a possible explanation of human behavior. Ani (1994) notes: "*This 'deep structure' of culture as Wade Nobles has called it, has a powerful influence on the shape of the culture and the thought-patterns of its members.*" (p.7). A world view inclines one to a particular way of thinking.

World view as subject is only occasionally mentioned in education literature. Anderson (1988) used world view in an examination of cognitive styles of what he referred to as non-Western and Western world views. Cobern (1988, 1991, 1993a, 1993b) contributed examinations of how world view was linked to applications of science and science education. Kilbourn (1974) suggests that "the paucity of research is linked to the tremendous complexity of worldviews" (p.36). Mc Kenzie (1991) explored the nexus of adult education and world view formation.

Regardless of categories employed, scholars agree that world view is concerned with the large questions people face as they attempt to make sense out of life. Such questions deal with life, death, suffering, reality, the cosmos and how each person fits into the grand scheme. Beginning in infancy, each person interacts with her physical and social landscape, and virtually unconsciously through a myriad of environmental interactions, world view assumptions are constructed. World view, while abstract, does supply a universal order and explanation. Specifically a world view defines the self and sets the boundaries of who and what I am. Pennington (1985) points out that world view should be given high, if not top priority in cultural study:

Because this component permeates all others, its significance cannot be underestimated. If one understands a culture's world view and cosmology, reasonable accuracy can be attained in predicting behaviors and motivations in other dimensions. (p.31). World view then becomes the determinate descriptor of the very nature of a culture.

How is world view developed?

Experience is useless unless it is interpreted. The ignition for world view is provided by our need to relate and make sense of the world. Cheikh Anta Diop posited the genesis of human development and "civilization" along a vertical North/South axis rather than the commonly accepted horizontal East/West frame. This model was amply expanded by the seminal works of Ben Jochannan (1972), Carruthers (1980, 1984, 1990), Jeffries (1992), Kamalu (1990) Karenga (1982, 1990) Karenga and Carruthers (1986) and Nobles (1972). Diop's (1978) "two cradle theory" suggests that climate and the terms for survival played the pivotal role in the development of human consciousness and subsequent world view. This North/South axis of human thought led to divergent, oppositional responses. Formulated initially to explain the division of the world into matriarchies and patriarchies, Diop's theory emphasized how the agrarian, matrifocal societies of the southern cradle promoted a cooperative, non-competitive social ethic. In contrast, the northern cradle was conducive to a male dominated, nomadic lifestyle which favored combativeness, competition and individuality. Finch (1991) points out that while the two cradles emerged independently, they nevertheless became "ineluctable antagonists". (p.60) The successful military exploits of the north against the south over several thousand years culminated in the redesigning of the north into the "West". Ani(1994)'s irrefragable attack on European intellectual hegemony poses the questions:

> What is the relationship between the way in which Europeans conceive of the world and the way in which they relate to majority peoples? Put another way:

What is the relationship between the dominant modes of European thought and the dominant modes of behavior towards others? (p.xvii.)

What are essential features of the Eurocentric world view?

The term European is understood as interchangeable with "Western", "European American", "North American" and "American." The definition of the West emphasizes the organicity of Europe by recognizing its consistencies and patterns; what Ani calls (p. 6) the "explanatory principles of the culture". Eurocentrism refers to the dominant ideology promoted by the West. The Eurocentric perceptual lens is exclusive of non-Europeans, "except as subjects for comparison to white norms". (Milam, 1992, p.6) The European conception of nature, the cosmological consequences of this conception, and the place that the human being has in this cosmology are all significant ingredients of the European world view.

Europeans assume a very special place for 'themselves' in the universe but simultaneously feel 'uneasy' in that universe. If there is anything 'natural' in them it is opposed to and in conflict with what is considered to be the most valuable part of them. They are not at peace with themselves because of the dualistic nature within: the flesh and the spirit. (Ani, 1994, p.90)

Platonism, Christian theology and the Great Chain of Being cosmology all contain a conception of a human being not at home in the universe. Concepts become reified as the concrete is isolated from the abstract and the intellectual from the emotional. Difference of kind automatically implied difference of value. Asante (1988) notes that concern with race was the central idea in European thought since Bartolomeo de las Casas and featured prominently in the works of Europe's major philosophers. (p.11) Ani (1994) cites as an outstanding characteristic of European world view its treatment of difference. Generally difference evoked xenophobia and was met with an aggressive defensiveness.

As other "nonrational" creatures exist to serve 'man', so other 'less rational' people exist to serve European 'man' (and women must serve them, since they are the least rational of the Europeans). The objectification of nature is what allows for its exploitation and rape. In other cultures nature is experienced subjectively, as are other human beings. (p.88)

According to Ani (1994), the idea of a basically hostile, oppositional relationship between 'human' and nature in which the human seeks to continually control nature is characteristically European. Humans are presumed superior to other life forms. Significantly,

> the European American's conception of self is separate from others, and therefore in opposition to others, is an extension of the European ontological conception of the human being as being against or in opposition to nature. ...He trains himself to eliminate emotion and replace it with "reason". (p.389).

The European conceptual framework treats phenomena as objects and takes away the power of experienced reality. Out of this clay, the Eurocentric scientific paradigm is molded. It is a reductionistic view that sees the explanation of the whole in its parts and where machine-type analogies are appropriate for explaining natural phenomenon. With the ascendance of

positivism, scientific method became the method of logicians and mathematicians; other forms of inquiry were discredited. Europeans used their definitions in a particularly aggressive manner. Although science is culturally defined, the science of non-Western cultures has been labelled "magic". Magic is popularly understood to be the antithesis of science.

> In this way the European world-view takes on an ideological force not only within, but *outside* the culture, since it can be imposed as universal, speculative, and self-conscious... At the same time, its parochial and axiological character remains well-hidden and camouflaged beneath a pseudouniversalism. (Ani, 1994, p.8, emphasis added)

The respected scientific paradigm mirrors the European world view. A single, objective reality that can be observed and measured is the assumption underlying research inspired by the Eurocentric worldview.

> Questions of description, confirmation, causal explanation, prediction and control are important to this paradigm. People and their behaviors become objects for study with the researcher maintaining as much distance from the researched as possible so as to remain objective. To help maintain objectivity, researchers use inanimate instruments such as scales, tests, surveys and computers to collect data. They analyze data by predetermined, usually statistical procedures. (Peters, Jarvis et al., 1991, p. 44-5)

Such knowledge can then be used to make "objective" decisions about probable actions. Until the late 1970s most research in North American adult education was based on this world view. (p.46) Despite the appearance of other models (interpretive, critical) they are basically "disempowered paradigms". (Lont, 1988)

The Human to Object orientation, the sense of alienation from the natural world culminating in an oppositional hostility, the elevation of reason, the enshrinement of European ideals and preferences as universals, the deification of progress and technology, and since the 16th century an insistence upon performing as a White civilization, are aspects that combine to assert Europe's exceptionality. Taken in isolation, these aspects are merely a particular view of the world. However, this world view is used to buttress the West's military, political and economic dominance. The colonization of knowledge is a serious offense.

What are the essential characteristics of the African world view?

> In contrast, the African metaphysic, indigenous American and Oceanic majority cultures all presuppose a fundamental unity of reality based on the organic interrelatedness of being; all refuse to objectify nature, and insist on the essential spirituality of a true cosmos. (Ani,,1994,p.82)

The Africentric world view has been defined by Ani (1994), Asante(1987, 1988, 1990) Asante and Asante (1985), Awoonor (1972), Azibo (1992), Baldwin and Hopkins (1990), Ben Jochannan (1972), Blyden (1968, originally 1908), Diop (1978), Dixon (1976) Karenga (1982),

Mbiti (1969), Myers (1988), Nobles (1972) and Richards (1985). Azibo (1992) contends that this worldview offers a "window for viewing all phenomena, not just Black" (p.78). African world view is understood as a singular entity rather than a multiplicity of world views. Diop (1978) firmly establishes African cultural unity. He argues that African philosophy can only be developed "on the original terrain of African thought." (Diop, cited in Azibo,1992, p.71) Azibo (1992) points out that:

> the centricity of African thought derives from the African cultural perspective...Literally, logically and historically the concept of Africentricity means an employing of the centric thought or conceptual universe of the African, as articulated in the traditional African worldview. (p.68).

The African world view is concerned with what Dixon (1976) calls a Man-to-Person orientation, harmony with nature, communalism, felt time and being. The African world views no gap between humans, nature and the supernatural. Further, the self must feel, internalize, experience and personalize the phenomenal world. Humans are conceived of as being in harmony with nature. Lack of harmony, it is believed, can bring sickness, drought or social disruption. The merger of the self with creation causes Africans to respond to the inanimate world with personification. The individual exists as part of the social order—whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group and vice versa. Moral responsibility is collective because actions have consequences for the community, which consists of the living, the dead, and the unborn. Suffering and joy occur in the context of the corporate group which includes kin and neighbors. The human being is the source of all value.

African thought proposes that the world is ordered with a principle of how opposites co-exist and interact. (Kamalu,1990) This concert of opposites is not understood as an either/or division but an either/and synthesis. Spirit is pure energy and matter is its physical envelope. The juxtaposition of being to becoming is seen as mutually complimentary and of equal importance. Understood as being two in one, the invisible world is symbolized or manifested by visible, concrete phenomena and objects of nature. Spirituality is a cornerstone, if not the foundation of the African world view. The universe is sacred and organic. Ani (1994) observes:

> Knowledge of the universe comes through relationship with it and through perception of spirit in matter. The universe is one; spheres are joined because of a single unifying force that pervades all being. Meaningful reality issues from this force. (p.29)

Criner (1976) pointed out that it is the nature of the organism to construct a world view which is consistent with its behavior. Using music as an example, he pointed out that while all humans dance, the nature of the dance is intimately related to how time is perceived. "The polyrhythmic nature of African drumming defies representation in the metric of European music" (p.134). Dixon (1976) referred to the African relationship to time as "felt time". The Diasporan African habit of "C.P.time" illustrates that time-scheduled, pre-planned activities do not take precedence over responses to immediate experiences. When the phenomenal world is inseparable from the self, felt time rules the day, not clock time. Since time has to be experienced in order to become real, the long range future is not.

What constitutes the Africentric paradigm?

Milam (1992) identifies a number of scholars who "discuss research issues in African, African American, and Black Studies within the concept of paradigms" (p.4) The Africentric paradigm is used to challenge the assumptions of Eurocentric research which is:

> plagued by an inherent predisposition toward control and domination that produces attempts to create hierarchical rather than cooperative relationships with other peoples. It is argued that this predisposition is absent in other centrisms. (Stewart, 1992, p.36)

Asante (1983, 1987, 1988, 1990) more than any other contemporary scholar is associated with the concept Afrocentricity (*sic*). However Asante's contributions must be seen in the continuum of African efforts toward the restoration and reunification of African people. Asante (1988) expands Africentricity's purpose, calling it the "active, self-conscious advancement of the humanizing motif in every sector of society." (p.104) African people have a mission as "the vanguards for humanism and sensitivity". (p. 42)

For Asante, Africentric methodology begins with the question, "Is it in the best interest of African peoples?" Asante suggests three basic qualities that must be possessed by those undertaking Africentric study: 1)competence 2) clarity of perspective and 3)understanding of the object. The logic of Africentricity originates in the Kemetic texts. (p. 87) The perceptual lens to be used is resolutely Pan-Africanist. Baldwin cited in Azibo (1992) lists four basic characteristics of the paradigm:

> (a) It generates the construction of African social reality from the framework of the history, culture and philosophy of African civilization;
>
> (b) It recognizes and articulates the basic continuity of the African worldview throughout the diverse African populations.
>
> (c) It recognizes and articulates the basic distinctness and independence of the African worldview.
>
> (d) It projects the African survival thrust as the center of African social reality. (p.67)

In terms of method, objectivity is discarded in favor of polycentered ways of knowing. Researchers pay attention to symbols, instinct, affect, intuition and imagery. The tendency is to view any distance between researcher and respondent as pretentious and artificial. Akbar (1984) suggests that compared to the Eurocentric approach, Africentric scholars take a "quantum leap when they identify spirituality as a relevant dimension of the human experience" (p. 408). Rhythm is another vital element of African reality. The jazz motif of improvisation, according to Stewart (1992) offers a metaphor for scholarly collaboration.

The researcher/activist can be no "armchair scholar". The Africentric researcher is accountable to disciplinary peers and larger communities. Ultimately, the researcher is accountable to the people s/he is trying to help. (Asante,1988, Milam 1992, Turner 1984) This interpretive, corrective mission of Black Studies is vital to the discipline. (Karenga 1982; Turner 1984) Milam (1992) suggests that the principles of empiricism are exchanged for an idiographic, interpretive approach which:

> recognizes the holistic, subjective, phenomenological, and collective nature of human consciousness. There is no desire to predict or explain, only to explore the metaphors, patterns, contexts, and processes of subjective knowledge. (p.20)

Methods which incorporate fundamentals of the continental and Diasporan experience are preferred. In-depth interviews and collective, group interviews are frequently suggested. Oral history research is appealing because of the tradition of oral communication. (Ben Jochannan 1972, Stewart, 1992) Milam (1992) notes that "replicability, integrity, and trustworthiness are critical to the validity of research findings" (p. 20). Asante (1988) and Ben Jochannan (1972) stress the importance of high ethics in the undertaking of this work.

In sum the Africentric paradigm is anchored in the cultural, historical reality of African people. Its method is derived from polycentered ways of knowing, traditions and practices that recognize the fundamental unity of all things in spirit, felt rhythms and time, and a drive to achieve harmonic balance. It has a socially corrective mission and opposes scholars poised to observe but not to act. It is a methodology of intent and praxis with twenty years of recent scholarship establishing its current framework.

Conclusion

The denial of other systems of thought by the dominant Eurocentric paradigm should be a matter of concern to all educators. The questions deemed worthy of asking are determined by the one's world view. Perhaps that is why we are content to ask "Can you read and write well enough to obtain employment?" and not "What support would release your maximum potential?"

Periodically African-centered scholars are called upon to repel the recombinant virus that attacks African cultural integrity and intellectual autonomy. This paper sought to end the debate about Africentricity's validity by reestablishing the congruence between world view and research paradigm. I argued previously (Dozier, 1985) that the African struggle for definitional control parallels the material struggle for self-determination and freedom. Conflict is not restricted to the material plane; in fact, there is a war of ideas.

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Self-employment Skills Training; Educational survival strategy for adult with low skills: A model for oral instruction

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Unemployment is chronic in urban areas and competition for the jobs that do exist is fierce. Joblessness is especially devastating in minority communities. Poor education and historical confinement in menial low wage jobs create large numbers of unemployed people in these areas. The short-term entry level job training programs offered in these communities attempt to develop skills for jobs in which many of the adult students have no work experience. Some adults cannot get into the training programs because they do not have adequate reading and math ability to qualify. Those who do manage to complete training programs often still do not get jobs and they become more discouraged than ever. These meager efforts of short-term job training education do not overcome the reality that there are few opportunities in the labor market today for people with low education, work, and social skills.

Researchers have shown that significant numbers of adults entering job training programs have intellect for, knowledge about, and experience in self-employment activities. Most of the time this experience has been informal and primarily engaged in to supplement income from other sources. However, since self-employment has not been offered as a work option in any school that these adults have attended, they do not recognize these activities as 'business,' nor the potential for developing them into self-sustaining self-employment ventures.

Adults with low skills (education, work, social), or work opportunities, need work training options suitable to their abilities and possibility for expression. Butler (1991), and Walker (1986) documented a tradition of entrepreneurship and self-help among African-Americans dating back to slavery in the United States and continuing through the present time. These activities have been undertaken as a survival strategy in hostile racial climates. Much of this tradition has been completely ignored by sociologists, educators and even African-Americans themselves. However this model may provide a blueprint for economic development in similar hard times faced in the current economy. Much of the contemporary entrepreneurship in African-American communities is operated informally, therefore, it is not given the significance that is warranted; education planners and state and federal funders virtually ignore this phenomenon. The business operators have not been acquainted with the potential of their 'hustles' to provide 'real work' and increased income. Schools do not consider this option when developing job training programs for these African-Americans in basic education and job programs. Balkin (1989) discusses the history of entrepreneurship among low-income people, and the feasibility of encouraging this population to pursue self-employment activities. He concludes that it is a worthwhile endeavor if policies are developed for modest goals, supportive linkages, creation of supportive institutions and a research agenda.

The Self-Employment Investment Demonstration (SEID) was a national test that ran from 1988 to 1992, to determine the feasibility of operating a program to encourage self-employment among welfare recipients. The project operated in seven sites across four states. While a preliminary

report of the project by Guy and others (1991) indicated that SEID attracted an 'unusual' group of welfare recipients with 34 percent reporting self-employment activity in the past, this is not unusual in the African-American community at all. No one can actually live on the income provided by welfare; some form of self-employment activity is engaged in by many merely to sustain the barest necessities of living. Babysitting, doing hair, housecleaning, car repairs, hauling trash, yard work and other activities are solicited to supplement the meager income provided by the state. With small changes in business operators' attitudes, appropriate training and support, and some policy changes by welfare and education agencies, these 'hustles' may become self-supporting and other adults in similar situations may opt to become self-employed in these and other areas of service business.

Adults attempting to enroll in job training programs are diverted into basic education classes when they do not score adequately to meet program qualifications. Because they need to earn money to support themselves and families, the majority of these adults do not stay in basic education classes long enough to increase basic skills sufficiently to qualify for job training programs. The national dropout rate is 60-75% for adults enrolled in literacy level classes. Obviously, these adults need work training programs that correspond with their current level of ability, and with their opportunities for expression of those training skills in their communities. The purpose of this grounded theory study was to analyze input from adults enrolled in an adult learning center to understand whether a self-employment skills training program would correlate to issues and problems concerning employment dealt with by its participants. Twenty-nine students from an Illinois community college enrolled in basic education and entry-level job training programs, one literacy level instructor and six job training instructors were interviewed to explore their interest in and knowledge about self-employment as a work option for this population. Four community micro-business operators were also interviewed for their perceptions of the requirements for providing self-employment training for adults.

The research questions are: (1) is self-employment skills training a viable vocational training option for adults with low skills?; (2) are adults with low skills aware and/or interested in self-employment skills training as a work training option?; (3) what skills are essential for preparing these adults for self-employment in micro-business?; (4) what is necessary for those skills to be taught in education institutions?

The data revealed that of the 29 students that participated in this study, 19 reported some form of self-employment activity and experience in a total of 26 businesses. Seven of the 10 students interviewed from the literacy level classes indicated sustained periods of self employment; four of those students were engaged in formal (registered as a business, pays all fees and taxes) businesses. One of those students operated a somewhat lucrative business on an informal (not registered as a business, does not pay fees or taxes) basis and the other two students supplemented income with hustles (intermittent, informal business operation) enduring 3- to 4-year periods. Two of these students cannot read at all and are "unable to test" in either reading or math. One of these unable to test is formally operating a body and fender shop, the other is dyslexic and has performed babysitting services to supplement her income. TABE scores for the other five range from 2.1 to 4.0 reading levels and 4.5 to 5.9 math levels. Two of these adults with reading scores of 2.1 and 3.8 have each operated several formal businesses. Another student with a reading score of 4.0 operated the informal business mentioned above for more than 15 years from her public housing apartment.

Four of the seven students interviewed that were enrolled in ABE/GED levels have been involved in either informal businesses or hustles. These students have TABE scores that range 4.9 to 12.9 in reading and 5.0 to 8.4 in math.

Eight of the 12 students interviewed that were enrolled in vocational programs discussed self-employment experiences. Three are informal activities, five are hustles. Vocational program students are not required to have TABE scores on the computerized system, but are required to have reading scores of 9.0 and math scores of at least 8.0 in order to qualify to enroll into a program. Five of these students' files did not contain TABE scores. The seven that were available indicated scores ranging from 10.0 to 12.9 in reading and 8.5 to 11.4 in math. The TABE scores of these vocational students indicate that they have adequate academic skills to succeed in higher education or to function in jobs. However, a theme that emerged from the interviews is that many of these adults have previously taken and/or completed other vocational programs and are still unemployed. Many also indicate intention to enroll in other vocational programs once they complete the current training. Pursuit of the elusive job has been constant and is ongoing.

It is obvious that students with low skills are interested in self-employment activities since they engage in them without intervention by the formal education system. The 24 students that were polled on this issue all indicated interest in learning about self-employment and specifically commented that it would be a valuable program for students enrolled in the Center.

It is also apparent that a need does exist to prepare these adults with knowledge and skills that will assist them to create work primarily because they are not being hired into existing jobs. Twenty-two of the participants are unemployed and seeking work; 2 are retired, and 5 are employed. Twelve of these students have been enrolled in training programs prior to the Center and most profess intention to enroll in other programs after completing their program at the Center. The criteria for both interest and need are met in determining if a self-employment skills training program is a viable training option for adults with low skills.

Balkin (1989) asserts that little is known about how interested low-income people are in pursuing self-employment. The second question regarding adults' awareness and interest in self-employment is answered by the fact that 24 of 29 students in this study expressed strong interest in self-employment training as an option for work training; five students were not asked. Of the 22 students polled, five indicated that self-employment had been mentioned in a proprietary school setting. Four have been to cosmetology schools where discussion of owning a shop is integrated into the curriculum. One has completed truck driving school where buying your own rig is routinely discussed and encouraged as a way to begin work. Three said it had been mentioned in 1) a Job Corps class, 2) an electronics class at the Center, and 3) in a medical terminology class taken at the main campus. Self-employment as a work option was not mentioned in any school attended by the other 14 students. One student who had attended both a public community college and a private university became quite upset during the interview as the thought began to dawn on him. He raged, "I have been being prepared to work for others since I was in the third grade."

Of the 29 students interviewed, 24 indicated interest in learning about being self-employed or expressed interest in a self-employment training program being offered at the Center. During the interview sessions, even those students who responded that they had not previously considered being

in business began to perceive a value in learning about it. Some students expressed that they would like to know about it so they could have the option of doing it or not. Clearly, the option is not there for them now. Interest was not confined to any specific level of enrollment, it extended equally across all levels from literacy to vocational training, from those reading 2.1 to those topping out at 12.9. Adult students have not been made aware of self-employment as a work option through their education and know it merely as a hustle or way to make a little money "on the side" from their environment. Regardless of their educational attainment, from grammar school to college, at no level has the concept of self-employment been introduced in their formal education experience. Yet, when such a possibility was discussed they expressed a strong interest in formally learning about self-employment through a work training program.

Of the 29 students interviewed, 19 (66%) have engaged in some form of self-employment activity. All students were asked what skills they thought were needed to be successful in business for themselves. Specifically, they were asked to respond to what was needed in terms of (1) basic education, (2) personal skills and attitudes, (3) technical skills, and (4) business knowledge. While some students could not respond fully to every question, most gave responses from their personal experience as self-employed persons or as persons expressing what they think they needed personally to go into business.

The responses of the five business owner-students enrolled in literacy level classes can be summarized as (1) you need to know how to treat people and (2) you need to know how to count money. In all cases, these business persons indicated they were qualified in both areas and did not perceive either as a problem for them. They did, however, express desire to develop greater literacy skills in reading, writing, and spelling. The two women in this group also alleged that a deep desire and love are needed to be successful. They strongly expressed that without it, success in business for yourself is not possible. The responses of students enrolled in other classes can be summarized in almost the same way. They stated that people skills and financial skills such as bookkeeping and money management are most important and think that high school level reading and math ability are required.

Interviews with the community micro-business operators revealed very practical skills. Simple math, communication skills, product information, pricing, and street knowledge to avoid gangs and crime were a few of the things mentioned by these vendors.

The business-owner students enrolled in all classes, and the community micro-business operators all learned about their business primarily through talking with people: friends, relatives, employees, employers, other business people, agency personnel, and sales people. Two of the literate community business operators mentioned reading and researching in the library. These efforts require (1) reading ability, (2) ability to seek information through personal contact, telephone, and other people, (3) communication skills, both talking and listening, (4) organization ability, (5) follow through, (6) desire/enthusiasm/motivation, (7) confidence in ability to accomplish this goal, and (8) willingness to learn what is necessary to establish and maintain a business. Except for reading ability, the other items do not require education, they require personal skill or mental characteristics.

Ironically, though several self-employment programs specifically target low-income people, welfare recipients, single parents or public housing residents which typically would include many

adults with low skills, the programs utilize curriculum and materials that would eliminate all of the business owner-students that were interviewed for this study and a good portion of their own recruits. Therefore, dialogue as the medium for delivering instruction about self-employment, and curriculum content that is identified by students as needed for their interests and ability, in collaboration with a learned facilitator-guide is proposed. In order to effect the "mid-wife, girl-friend, connected teaching, humanistic, Afrocentric, critical paradigm" relationship teaching suggested by this study, small class sizes are required. Limitations for community colleges to provide self-employment training for adults with low skills, that serve predominantly minority students, is due to requirements (or preference) for large class size, chronic understaffing of programs, program inflexibility, student need for individual attention, almost non-existent opportunity for counseling services, lack of availability of teachers with a philosophy of empowerment through self-employment, and the expense of training teachers and staff. In order for these skills to be taught in educational institutions, the administrative and teaching philosophy must be humanistic and student empowerment must be a primary goal for the program. Adequate counseling services must be provided to sufficiently support the needs of students. Instruction methods and curriculum content must reflect the real life concerns of the adults being served. Resources for audio and visual equipment and presentations must be available. Cooperative, supportive relationships with community business operators, agencies, and lending institutions must be established. Facilities must be available that are conducive to ongoing support for new business owners, established community micro-business operators, and the surrounding community. Given those conditions and resources, a self-employment skills training program for adults with low skills can be implemented by a formal education institution.

Conclusion

These results verify that adults with low skills engage in self-employment activity without educational intervention, yet self-employment is not offered as a work training option by schools preparing these adults for work. Most students indicated it had never been mentioned in their public school education.

These adults are members of oral cultures; they learned to establish and operate their businesses through oral, practical methods. Learning that was provided by experienced social contacts in an oral practical manner about how to establish and operate a business, compared significantly to knowledge contained in two popular entrepreneurship programs that were developed by experts for literate populations (Ashmore, 1983 and Balogh, 1985).

An oral model for instruction and content is proposed which replicates the way these adults learn on their own, and which values students' experiences and knowledge about their community. The intent is to develop awareness of how business is manifested in their community and understanding of their potential to create and engage in self-employment. The model requires adults to explicate their knowledge of business in their community and to define what they need in order to create employment for themselves. A facilitator-guide acts as a resource, putting his/her knowledge at students' disposal to use as desired.

Some of the findings about the students enrolled in basic education and job training programs were: (1) they were not optimistic about getting a job after training, (2) they were training in areas in which they did not have work experience, (3) the majority have already been involved in some form

of self-employment activity, and (4) they had multiple enrollments in other job training programs and intended to seek even more training after completing their programs. Some of the documented evidence of this study was that: (1) adults with low skills are interested in self-employment as a work option, (2) some adults with low print literacy skills are competent to establish and maintain businesses, (3) when adults have met their needs for work skills, they enroll in classes because of their need to develop literacy skills (4) there are similarities in knowledge developed by literacy level adults through oral methods, with knowledge developed by experts, and (5) oral instruction delivered in a connected teaching style, containing culturally customized content, can be accommodated by two popular entrepreneurship programs to prepare adults with low skills for self-employment.

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African-Americans In Adult Education: Outline For A Course Of Study

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Abstract:

This paper presents a model for the teaching of African-American contributions in the field of adult education. The model course suggests an andragogical approach to instruction that encourages critical reflect on the issues that have supported the exclusion of African-American and other minority voices from adult education's curriculum.

When an African-American in an adult education course asks about the contributions of his or her people to the field of Adult education the list of names or institutions is often surprising short. "Knowles' standard history of American adult education movement devotes little space to the Black adult education movement" (Neufeldt & McGee, 1990, p. vii). Have you heard of the Masons or the Eastern Star, Mary McLeod Bethune, Ira D. A. Reid study on Adult Education Among Negroes or Alain Locke, former AAAE president. The Phoenix Society (NY 1833), the Nation of Islam and other traditional Black religious organization's are important examples of adult education. Notice that the Black Panthers are not studied as a community education organization, even though much of their work focused on educating and improving their community. An image is presented which suggests an absent of African-American contributions to the field. In fact African-Americans are not absent, but African-American adult education efforts have been historically ignored. Within the United States even those texts which do focus on African-American issues are often not mentioned. Woodson's *Miseducation of the Negro* and *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, Ballard's *The Education of Black Folk* or more recently Neufeldt and McGee's *Education of the African American Adult*.

The dominant literature's values for the field of adult education (Jensen, 1964; Knowles 1980, Quigley, 1989; Griffin, 1991; Connelly & Light 1991) speak about three things:

1. The importance of the experiences the learner brings to the learning environment. Adult educators like Knowles and Brookfield prides themselves on their attention to the learner.

2. The practical application of the new learning to real life, and

3. Providing a high quality climate for the learning to occur in.

Recently, critical voices in adult education call attention to the fields continued need to address the twin issues of excluded histories and power relationships. These issues are based in

the culture of the American education (Stewart, 1972 & Ballard, 1973). Without a more complete and diverse understanding of the historical and political factors impacting on the learners adult education cannot meet the need to enrich the quality of life for all learners. It cannot effectively assess the needs of the learners, and will not encourage the participation of all people. Practitioners are limited, because they are not trained to understand a variety of cultural worldviews. As a result the effectiveness and inclusiveness of their programs is limited, too. To meet the ethical standard (Connelly & Light, 1991) of the organization requires a multicultural education for practitioners. This course presents a different view of history, an African-American inclusive one.

Outline:

Course: EDAC 698

Issues in Adult & Community Education. (3 credits)

THEME: African-American Issues of Adult & Community Education

Course Objectives:

1. Provide an intensive experience in issues related to the increased understanding of African-American's cultural and historical role in Adult Education through:

A. Direct contact with African-American clients or programs in a systematic way

B. Instruction in the description, interpretation, evaluation [DIE] (Batchelder & Warner, 1977) and Defining, Experiencing, Evaluate and Deconstruct (Asante 1980) [DEED]

C. Able to present in writing and orally documentation of methodologies for addressing culturally sensitive needs assessment, and detailing ethical/ cultural assumptions present.

Activities grading criteria

2 two page papers following DIE or DEED use (cultural incidents) of terms, clarity & format 15 points / each (*one must be a group event)

1 Film review using DIE or DEED model

(2 pages) page one = DIE or DEED

(15 points) page two = suggest use or application

3 two page papers using DICE model* (presentation eval.)

D = define purpose of presentation (15 points); **I** = interpret speaker position(s); **C** = contrast to an opposing view; **E** = evaluate strength; C vs. I

Activities grading criteria

Paper/Presentation 8 pages written with 15 minutes presentation

First draft = 30 pts draft due week 4 - typed

Second draft = 70 pts draft due last day of class - max. eight pages

Presentation = 50 pts second to last week of class

Class participation oral and written

(20 points) involvement in different roles

TEXTS:

Confronting Racism & Sexism, Hayes & Colin, III,1994
African Ameripean Adult Education, Colin, III, 1994
Serving Culturally Diverse Populations, Ross-Gordon, Martin and Briscoe,1991
Education of The African-American Adult, Neufedt & McGee, 1990

Selections of:

Anderson & Colin, 1992 *Race, Class & Gender*
Bell, 1992 *Faces At The Bottom Of The Well*
Bull, 1992 - *Ethics of Multicultural Education*
Davis,1990 - *Women, Culture and Politics*
DuBois, 1969 - *Soul of Black Folks*
Sowell, 1981 - *Ethnic America*
Woodson, 1977- *Miseducation of the Negro*

Lesson Plan:

WEEK

1A Introduction, structure of course, beginning on group dynamics

1B Role Behaviors: "How we can/do/should interact." Role play exercise, case study and written review Goals: setting expectations, sharing values and climate development

My Role: facilitator, information giver, give/share input and feedback with others

KEY POINTS: roles specific behaviors for learners, issues of power, especially related to beliefs & values, and review assignments.

2A Adult education versus educating adults: history of the field

2B Critical Perspective: Group Presentations: History (Cunningham, 1989, Hugo 1980 & Brookfield, 1986) and power (Asante, 1970; Cervero, 1989; Griffin, 1991; Tisdell, 1992)

3A African-Americans and Native Americans History of Adult Education Katz, 1986 - Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage

3B African-American Adult Education: Woodson, 1977; Locke, 1947; Fager, 1967; Tucker 1969 and Neufedt, 1990

4A Black Women In Adult Education: Hugo 1990, Leggon, Black Female Professionals, & Welch, 1992)

4B Current Issues Presentations: [DEED model]

5A Educational Goals for Adults: Democracy for Adult Education: Does it work for everyone?

5B Adult Education and the Nation of Islam in U.S.A.

6A Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Issues in African- American Adult Education

6B African-Americans and their Education: Past into Present: access, power and politics

7A individual presentations & feedback on same

7B individual presentations & feedback on same

8A individual presentations & feedback with extra time

8B review/summary of presentations, debriefing of course & closure exercises

It is my goal in this course to engage students in a critical discussion. Asante (1980) stated that the misrepresentation of information whether intentional or unintentional is the use of a powerful tool to misinform and shape conceptual frameworks. He suggests that everything must be viewed critically. In adult education, Apps (1975) used the term emancipatory learning which describes the freeing of the learner from the social, political or economic restrictions to the direction of the educational outcomes and process. Last, Bank's (1989) suggests a fourth methods for the presentation of multicultural information, that of social change to a more pluralistic society.

To do this I have set up each session to provide for information from a variety of positions. The intention is to overcome fears and deal with the resistance to new ideas (Jeria, 1990 & Flannery, 1994). In the case of assignments, they begin with a high level of structure and move to an open final project with feedback to support and challenge the student to justify their position (Asante, 1980) and develop a theory in practice/action (Schon, 1983). This supports the learners development of a personal position and practice philosophy. For example, a rational/empirical approach to the learner will present "factual" information from several viewpoints. Lastly, there will be time to deal with the affective side of the issues. A focus on Mezirow's (1987) idea of social transformation in the learning process and the progression of cultural awareness. These processes allows for the understanding of the power relationship within the field. The student will be involved in the speaker selection and in the briefing and introduction of speakers. Power is an important issue in the classroom (Blundell, 1992; Tisdell, 1992 & Ballard, 1973). This is why I have the assignment of conflicting viewpoints and bring in contrasting speakers. The intention is to model constructive feedback and multiple perspectives for the students. I hope to develop cohesive elements in the group expectations for attentive, supporting and constructive interaction, I and the group may call people "to task" for not following these agreed standards of behavior.

The content focuses on the United States issues of African-Americans, but of necessity references to the more global issues of African descended people. The content used the present day separation of adult education from the education of adults to focus on the importance of labels or names. This separation of the "academic" practice of adult education as compared to the informal events of the education of adults allows the learners to explore the structures power at work.

For example, from 1787 to 1860 these organizations were formed:

Free African Society & African Free schools
African Methodist Episcopal Church
First Black Magazine by Ruggles
Slave Revolts Leaders
Lincoln & Wilberforce Universities founded
Black Masonic Lodges & Black Women's Clubs
First National Black Convention
Underground Railroad

Freedman's Society

Yet they do not receive press as examples of adult education institutions or organizations in the adult education literature.

I present a model that suggests three overlapping ellipses within a larger circle labelled education. One, the education of adults, two, adult education and three, African-American adult education. The model has a large central area blocked to represent the missing parts of education history for many groups. This course focuses specifically on raising the awareness of issues of African-American contributions to adult education. Learners are challenged to investigate the missing parts of the pictures. What isn't there?

AFRICAN-AMERICANS SCHOOLING LEARNING ADULT EDUCATION EDUCATION OF ADULTS AFRICAN - AMERICAN ADULT EDUCATION

UNIONS CLUBS LODGES CHURCHES CRAFTS REVOLT PROTEST COALITIONS

Ultimately four critical issues highlight the important need for this course. Demographic trends within the U.S. point to the need for diversity awareness by practitioners (Galbraith, 1991). Adult education claims to be a service for all learners, but still needs to be inclusive in faculty, literature and research. If the full range of learners is to be welcome in the adult education learning spaces then ignorance of learners diverse experiences is unacceptable. Lastly, if the notion of social change is relevant to adult education an exclusion of minority voices present the field with purposeful exclusion of some from the process. The historical involvement of women and minorities is lengthy and varied. It needs to be understood and utilized by all adult educators, if the needs of a global society for adult education are to be met in a just and equitable fashion.

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Feminist Theory and The Social Construction of Knowledge: The Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender An Africentric Feminist Educational Perspective

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Abstract

Mainstream Euroamerican feminists have constructed a reality through feminist theory that does not reflect the lived experiences of the majority of women, i.e., Women of Color. This research provides an analysis of mainstream Euroamerican feminism as a social construction of knowledge insensitive to the intersection of race, class, and gender.

Introduction

All social thought is rooted in the interests, concerns, and experiences of its creators. As Karl Marx (1964) points out, social thought (ideas) is directly related to the social conditions in which it is produced. According to Marx, within any society, the dominant ideas at any given historical period are the ideas of those who have the power to influence the intellectual production and distribution of ideas.

In the realm of feminist thought, Euroamerican feminists have constructed a reality through feminist theory that does not reflect the lived experiences of the majority of women, i.e., Women of Color. They convey definitions of reality, how women are to define themselves, their relationships, and their needs. Euroamerican feminists, in essence, have posited a universal notion of feminism that in the process of passing as legitimate knowledge has, in effect, silenced the voices of other women. The pursuit and definition of what is "feminist knowledge" in the U.S. has historically been considered the work and domain of Euroamerican middle-class females. Euroamerican feminists have controlled the discourse of feminist knowledge, particularly, as feminist knowledge is produced and reproduced in academia and Women's Studies.

Defining A Theoretical Framework: The Sociological Imagination

American sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) regarded the task of sociology as the understanding of the relations between individuals (personal biography) and the society in which they lived (social structures). Mills was concerned with the utilization of sociology in reconstructing just social institutions. Sociology must make sense of the human experience existing in society. Mill's concept reflects that private experience is embedded in social conditions revealing the shared experiences of human beings. In essence, the positions of men and women in society are a reflection of social factors, not natural or biological factors.

Euroamerican feminist sociologist Margaret L. Anderson (1993) articulated the importance of the sociological imagination in feminist thought. Our social experience and consciousness are directly influenced by the location of our existence. Anderson provided a critical analysis of the influence of sex and gender relations on behavior and social organizations. She discussed the flaws in traditional

scholarship in its exclusion of women and the flaws in feminist scholarship when Afrikana women and Women of Color are excluded. I would strongly argue that feminist scholarship, excluding the concerns and perspectives of Afrikana women and Women of Color, is no better than the traditional male-centered scholarship that excludes women.

The Social Construction of Reality

Sociologists have long recognized that the taken-for-granted realities we experience are social creations that appear true on the surface, but after closer examination, are often found to be partially true or not true at all. In their now classic book, "The Social Construction of Reality" (1966), Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann contend that humans create the truths they believe (social reality) in interaction with other human beings. Taking his lead from Berger and Luckmann, sociologist John J. Macionis defines the social construction of reality simply as: "the process by which individuals creatively shape reality through social interaction" (1991:153).

The social construction of reality is instructive when we examine the concept of feminism. Feminists have created a social reality where they interact with others articulating an everyday knowledge and creating self-definitions that validate their positions through feminism.

The Social Construction of Knowledge

The social construction of reality is deeply rooted in the social construction of knowledge. According to Margaret L. Anderson (1993),

> epistemology refers to the ways of knowing that form systems of social thought. This idea emphasizes that knowledge is socially constructed and that ways of thinking are embedded in a variety of assumptions--implicit and explicit--that guide their shape and form (1993:345).

Anderson goes on to say that

> knowledge in society is socially constructed, that knowledge emerges from the conditions of people's lives, and that knowledge is embedded in ideological systems--that is, knowledge is not pure; it is often generated from and tends to reinforce belief systems that support the status quo (1993:67).

The aforementioned statement is particularly relevant to the concept of feminism. It emphasizes the importance of examining the relationship between ideas, such as feminist thought within the lived experiences of women, where knowledge is acquired and how it is produced.

Defining Feminism

Defining feminism would appear to be a simple matter, however, it is quite complex. Depending on its historical context, feminism is defined in various ways. In the past, there have been some attempts to define feminism. For example, historian Karen Offen (1988) had severe difficulty defining feminism. Although, she did not directly define the concept, Offen did describe a feminist as: (1) a female or male

whose ideology or actions reflect them as recognizing the validity of women's interpretation of their lived experiences and needs distinct from men's; (2) displaying a consciousness over institutional injustice or inequity towards women as a group by men as a group; and (3) advocating the demise of injustice by challenging the dominant ideology of social institutions and practices.

Some feminists such as Rosalind Delmar (1986) recognize that there is no true feminism. While Delmar acknowledges that feminism is a field, it cannot "claim women as its domain." Delmar regards feminism as more than just a concern with women's issues. In fact, she views contemporary feminism as fragmented, consisting of the feminisms of radical, socialists, marxists, lesbians, and Women of Color, who are all different. Delmar questions whether there is a unity underlying the aforementioned, or if it even matters if such a unity exists. Delmar raises many questions about contemporary conceptualizations of feminism. However, she neither defined the concept, nor answered many of the questions she raised. It is obvious that feminism is not easily defined. Its definition depends greatly upon one's perspective, one's location in the social structure.

Although, there is no one definition of feminism, there are some common assumptions associated with the concept as used by mainstream feminists. One major understanding of feminism is that women are not biologically inferior to men. It is actually the social organization of society, the social attitudes and values of society that contribute to the oppression of women. However, the irony is while recognizing that women are not innately inferior, feminists have not been willing to take their analysis a step further to address the presupposed inferiority of Afrikana women and Women of Color embedded in the social construction of race. In addition, an assumption implicit in most mainstream definitions of feminism is that all women's experiences are the same. Again, it is ironic that while feminists generally purport to take into account the claims of all women, one omission is obvious. Feminists fail to provide a clear articulation of the importance of incorporating the intersection of race, class, and gender into its analysis. Feminism as a social construct consists of a view of institutions in society that impact upon women. However, it does not address the issues and concerns of all women, in particular, Afrikana women and Women of Color. I think that it is important to recognize that there is no universal feminism. I don't envision one in the future, because feminism is based in a particular social reality. Consequently, there are many feminisms. These many feminisms are not simply sublets of Euroamerican women. Race and class generates differences as well.

Whose Feminism?: Mainstream Euroamerican Feminism and The Social Construction of Knowledge

What is mainstream Euroamerican feminism? For the purposes of this paper, mainstream Euroamerican feminism is defined as a body of knowledge that positions middle-class Euroamerican women at the center of its analysis. It is the dominant feminist paradigm in the United States. It comes from privileged Euroamerican women who have been and continue to be middle-class, professional and/or academics. Euroamerican mainstream feminist theory and Women's Studies present a way of looking and seeing feminism that obscures the historical collective experience of Afrikana women. Euroamerican feminists have the power to name that which goes by the name of "feminists." In this regard, they have produced and validated knowledge that ignores or at best marginalizes the knowledge, perspectives, and experiences of Afrikana women. They have been successful in centering their issues and experiences and decentering the issues and lived experiences of other women.

When Euroamerican feminists add Afrikana women and Women of Color to their analyses, they often utilize an "add-and-stir" approach reflecting Euroamerican feminists' preestablished modes of

thinking. There is an inherent danger involved in utilizing this approach. The experiences of Euroamerican women are used as the criteria to view the experiences of Afrikana women and Women of Color. Mainstream Euroamerican feminists have yet to recognize their gendered experiences as unique, ignoring the experiences of others impacted by the intersection of race, class, and gender. Third World feminist Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1992) addresses this issue and articulates:

> the experience of being women can create an illusory unity, for it is not the experience of being woman, but the meanings attached to gender, race, class and age at various historical moments that is of strategic significance" (Mohanty in Barrett and Phillips, 1992:86).

Mohanty (1992) is critical of mainstream Euroamerican feminists' focus on subjectivity and identity (hallmark of contemporary feminist theory). Mohanty's criticism is centered around several issues: (1) the category of race has been dissolved at the expense of a recognition of racism; (2) the apolitical nature of the diversity and pluralism discourse that negate historical interconnections; (3) the universality of gender oppression that makes race and class invisible; and (4) the feminist osmosis thesis (being female automatically makes you a feminist).

Recurring Images, Ideas, Arguments, and Assumptions

Euroamerican feminists' white-skin privilege has allowed them to distort or ignore the reality of Women of Color while justifying and universalizing their own. It is ironic that race is an Eurocentric socially constructed concept, but the manner in which it is utilized renders the concept of race to others. In other words, they don't view themselves as a race, race is invisible to them. Peggy McIntosh (1992), discussed how whites are taught not to recognize their white-skin privilege, just as males are carefully taught not to recognize their male privilege. She states:

> "I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious" (McIntosh in Anderson and Hill Collins, 1992:71).

Recognizing white-skin privilege brings on a new accountability. However, the question is what to do about it.

Ideas centered in mainstream Euroamerican feminists' experiences are more often, than not, contradictory to the lived experiences of Afrikana women and Women of Color. While feminism purports to liberate women, but in essence, it does not liberate Afrikana women and Women of Color, or all women. The comprehension of mainstream Euroamerican feminism neither reflects the historical specificity of the unique experience of Afrikana women, nor Women of Color. Mainstream Euroamerican feminism reflects the ideas, experiences, needs, and values of middle-class academic feminists. Mainstream Euroamerican feminism has a one-dimensional view of women. Their feminism portrays images of a universal woman and women who simply based on gender are unequal or oppressed. It does not encompass the intersection of race, class, and gender that reflects the uniqueness of the lived experiences of Afrikana women and Women of Color. An Africentric feminist perspective brings our lived experiences from the margin of the feminist movement to the center of analysis, as espoused by bell hooks (1984).

Euroamerican Feminist Knowledge--Validation Process

Mainstream Euroamerican feminists utilize Karl Marx's social construction of ideas to reflect that it is men who own/control the means of production, subsequently, determining the dominant ideas. Afrikana women and Women of Color would contend that it is Euroamerican feminists who own/control feminist production and determine the ideas that govern contemporary feminism. In this sense, mainstream Euroamerican feminists, like their male counterparts have dominated the validation and production of traditional feminist knowledge. They control and validate what is acceptable and published knowledge in feminist discourse, essentially silencing women's voices, particularly those of Afrikana women, Women of Color, and Third World feminists.

Euroamerican mainstream feminists utilize their positions of privilege to control the knowledge-validation process. Educated elites have historically controlled the validation forces. They have typically claimed that they are qualified to produce theory, thus knowledge and believe that only they are capable of interpreting everyone else's experience. Like elite Euroamerican men, elite Euroamerican feminists control this process which excludes or disqualifies women of a lower socioeconomic class (e.g. poor white women) and Women of Color as producers of knowledge. Afrikana women have always theorized, but their theories have not generally been legitimized in the hierarchy of academia. Afrikana women seldom control this process. As a result, our views are most often censored and effectively controlled (silenced).

The political criteria governing the knowledge-validation process is two-fold. Patricia Hill Collins (1989, 1991) addresses this issue. Hill Collins contends that knowledge claims must be examined by a group of experts who validate knowledge claims that reflect the interests and views of the group. Subsequently, these experts are required to maintain the group's credibility regarding its basic, taken-for-granted knowledge. If new knowledge claims are not consistent with an existing body of knowledge, it is rejected by the body of experts controlling the knowledge-validation process. This analysis of the political criteria governing the knowledge-validation process has important implications for Afrikana women and Women of Color. For them, the group of experts are mainstream Euroamerican feminists. These feminists reflect their interests and values. They determine what is basic, taken-for-granted knowledge. When Afrikana women and Women of Color attempt to present new claims of knowledge, those knowledge claims are often reflected by the mainstream Euroamerican feminists controlling the knowledge-validation process.

Mainstream Euroamerican feminists accuse Euroamerican males of controlling the knowledge-validation process making feminist/women's knowledge invisible. However, they have engaged in a practice of producing theories and knowledge that excludes Afrikana women and Women of Color. Feminist journals are controlled by them allowing them to validate their material realities (viewpoints) and enables them to suppress the competing knowledge and positions of others. Middle-class Euroamerican academic feminists have greater access to the educational institutions where knowledge is produced and validated, whereas Afrikana women, Women of Color, and other women have the least access, or no access at all.

The voices of Afrikana women and Women of Color are suppressed within both academic institutions and Euroamerican women's feminist organizations. When Afrikana women do participate attempts are made to suppress our voices. The 1990 National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) Conference exemplifies this point. The Women of Color Caucus (WOCC) of the National Women's Studies Association staged a walkout to protest NWSA's continued silence regarding the political

institutionalized racism within its structure. The Women of Color Caucus withdrew from the NWSA and established the Women of Color Association (WOCA).

In reaction to the walkout by the Women of Color Caucus, Lois Rita Helmbold (1991) asserted:

> "racism and classism were institutionalized by the organization [NWSA]...We need to understand class and how it interweaves with race. Class determines the form in which whites have learned and benefitted from racism" (Women's Review of Books, 1991:30).

The National Women's Studies Association is an institution that validates feminist knowledge. It is the premiere institution controlled by elite Euroamerican feminists. Organizations like the NWSA relegate Afrikana women and Women of Color to subordinate positions analogous to academia. Thus, negating their knowledge and silencing their voices.

Euroamerican Feminism As A Social Construction of Knowledge

Mainstream Euroamerican feminists have affirmed their own values (needs, interests, desires, and visions) articulating and shaping the knowledge produced in feminist discourse. Therefore, mainstream Euroamerican feminists must claim responsibility for the consequences of the knowledge they produce. It is knowledge that is often exclusionary and does not remotely address the historical particularity of the lives of Afrikana women and Women of Color.

Anderson (1993) defines the purpose of feminist scholarship as providing knowledge that will evolve in a society that works for all women, regardless of race, class or sexual preference. Appropriate feminist scholarship should and would provide a reflection of the interrelatedness of race, class, and gender in all social relationships. Anderson describes how language is deeply embedded in social and political contexts, and the importance of remembering that language must be transformed to be more inclusive of race, class, and gender. Anderson posits that

> "revealing the hidden assumptions embedded in ideas or knowledge helps us envision the process by which knowledge can become genuinely inclusive and take gender, race, and class together as part of the complexity of human experience" (1993:13).

Conclusion

Class, race, and gender are social categories of experience (learned identities), relationships that influence all human experience. These categories of social experience are both simultaneous and intersecting systems of meanings and relationships. The importance of understanding race, class, and gender is critical to analyzing any social institution or social situation. Anderson (1993) views the utilization of feminist standpoint theory as being instrumental in this process. She explicates that feminist standpoint theory posits that what is known by a knower is influenced by their specific location which subsequently reveals why all perspectives are not equally valid or complete.

> "Standpoint theory assumes that systems of privilege are least visible to those who benefit the most from them and who, at the same time, control the resources that define dominant belief systems. Whites, for example, are more likely to deny that racism exists; people of color both see the assaults racism produces and understand the nuances of racism in everyday life" (Anderson, 1993:347).

For example, Euroamerican feminists, because of their skin-privilege cannot see the world constructed by race, they primarily see the world constructed by gender. Subsequently, Euroamerican feminists often deny that racism exists within feminist institutions and feminist theory. However, Afrikana women and Women of Color both see the racism of a body of knowledge that either marginalizes, makes invisible, or homogenizes all women's experiences, as well as, understand the nuances of racism in mainstream feminist thought.

Anderson (1993) criticizes the failure of feminist theory to articulate an explicit analysis of the intersection of race, class, and gender. She regards the lack of this explicit analysis as one of the greatest limitations to feminist theory.

> "The exclusion of people of color from systems of social thought and from the institutions in which thought is produced will continue to distort what we know and how we are able to effect social change on behalf of all groups. Integrating race, class, and gender into feminist thinking requires a process of transformation in which we move from simply adding women of color into existing analyses to seeing race, class, and gender in relational ways...The challenge for feminist theory in the coming years is to continue developing such work; without it, feminists cannot hope to generate programs for social change designed for the liberation of all women and men" (Anderson, 1993:350).

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"As quiet as a church in prayer We come from otherwhere"[1] : An Exploration of Professional Identity Formation in Two African American Women Adult Educators

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Abstract:

A life history methodology is used to explore the nature and means of professional identity formation in two African American women adult educators. African American feminist theory is part of a framework used to explain how these women surmounted gender and race-based obstacles in their careers and how this struggle contributed to their professional identity.

Overview of Study and Methodology

The purpose of this study was to determine from where--what socio-historical space--might African American women come to adult education and how might they construct their professional identities in a field which has been characterized as androcentric and ethnocentric (Hugo, 1990; Colin, 1989; Hofmann, 1988). Hofmann used the concept of a "White Male Club" to describe the exclusive attitude toward minorities prevalent in the adult education field. Her research revealed a profession in which the majority of instructors at the lower levels are female, while the majority of senior administrators and tenured faculty are male. Moreover, her extensive critical review of 10 years' worth of adult education literature revealed a field unwilling to address racism except in participation studies. Charges of ethnocentrism and androcentrism seem especially significant in a field as diverse in clientele and as humanistic in philosophical leanings as adult education professes to be.

"Hegemony" is an overarching concept that refers to the kind of monopoly or dominance of a realm of social thought or activity illustrated in the field of adult education. Hegemony can be defined as the preponderant cultural or intellectual influence of one class or group over another and I conceptualize it as adult education's meta-problem overarching latent sexist and racist tendencies. Consent of the nondominant group is achieved imperceptibly rather than malevolently.

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[1] Both these phrases are taken from June Jordan's work Who Look At Me (1969) published by the Thomas Y. Crowell Company in New York, pages 46 and 50.

The Personal Narratives Group (1989) has emphasized that the personal narratives of nondominant persons are particularly convincing sources of insight into the dominant culture because "[w]omen's personal narratives can...often reveal the rules of male domination even as they record rebellion against them" (p.7).

The narratives for this study were the result of 14 unstandardized (Berg, 1989) interviews conducted with each of the two participants. Both women earned their PhDs. in adult education twenty years ago. Interviews took place over the telephone and in their homes; the overall design was collaborative in that both women had a full understanding of the research problem and of my guiding questions. Validity was enhanced through member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and triangulation. The life history interviews were complemented by a reading of articles by and about the participants and interviews with their colleagues (Denzin, 1970). Both women decided to use pseudonyms for themselves as well as for their university. The transcribed interviews were analyzed using a modified form of Strauss's (1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) grounded theory analysis not only to determine their professional identity but to delineate their strategies for surmounting career obstacles. My co-researchers (so called due to my desire for as much collaboration as possible) conceptualized their strategies, to a great extent, as families and allies.

Families and Allies

Families

Family is the organizing principle for the constellation of persons, institutions and organizations in Dr. Kuumba Binti's life. It is manifested in a variety of formal and informal networks that have sustained her throughout her career. The contexts for the design of this pattern are nested one inside another. Specifically they are the Delta University (an historically Black university) experience nested inside the larger experience of being African American, female, and low-income in rural Alabama but mediated by a warm and loving family. Dr. Binti used family as a metaphor to describe adult education, Cooperative Extension, and Delta University. About her graduate schooling in adult education she has said that the Black male and female students in the program, *"...were close knit. We had a good family kind of relationship. We would get together for cook-outs and study sessions...."* AAACE she described this way: *"Adult education people are open just like the Cooperative Extension.... They kind of take you in as a big family. So you don't feel isolated. Obviously there is some isolation but not as much as it is in some other organizations."* Regarding Cooperative Extension, the program which she currently directs on her campus, she recognizes that the leadership has been predominantly male, but she also understands the marginality the Extension program has felt on the campus. Extension has seen itself on the periphery of campus life and, she believes, in reaction has built defenses that are exclusionary. In explaining the reluctance of both males and females to accept her supervision upon her entrance into agricultural extension, and the problems she has experienced with gender discrimination (particularly regarding salary) on her campus, she has retained the family metaphor: *"Family members sometimes do 'fall out' with one another but they also make up."*

Her notion of family clearly indicates how the concept operates to sustain her and the way it keeps her focused on the opportunity for inclusion and positive outcomes. The family pattern has several dimensions. First there is the broad notion of family--the "extended" family and included are the field of adult education, Cooperative Extension, Delta University, and African Americans in general. Within these "extended" families exist smaller versions of families referred to as networks or which go by other designations such as "kitchen cabinets"--expert, informal advisers who are established males on her campus, and "sisterhood"--formal and informal groups of Black women across lines of class. Families have varying degrees of openness, security, caring, support, intimacy, and tolerance based upon the conditions within which they come into existence.

In spite of the difficulties Dr. Binti has faced entering the predominantly male leadership of Cooperative Extension and more covert gender inequities experienced on her campus, she does not identify herself as a feminist of any stripe, and, although my sense from her is that race is an organizing principle, she counters in the following way: *"What I try to do is to help people who have been left out. That to me is of equal importance no matter what the race."*

We turn now to explore Dr. Stephenson's primary strategy for overcoming career obstacles; prominent within this discussion we find a similar expression of the struggle against domination.

Allies

Dr. Stephenson's relationship with her husband was shaped within a context of class difference based on education, income, type of work, and also by the fact that he expected her to be responsible for the domestic role. *"John...was very supportive of my being a professor and being involved nationally. But he also wanted to remind me that I was a housewife first; so he didn't do any of those things..."*

Dr. Stephenson's husband had only a high school degree and was in the maintenance crew at her university; although intimidated by his wife's continued climb up the academic ladder, he enjoyed the lifestyle her success was able to provide. Dr. Stephenson has said that her love for her husband and his support of her career in many ways shaped the choices she made to pursue her doctorate.

Dr. Stephenson spent the majority of her career on a predominantly White campus in the Midwest where she was the only Black, the only woman not in home economics, and the only adult educator in the college of agriculture--for her a hostile environment. In contrast with Dr. Binti's family patterns are Dr. Stephenson's survival strategies comprised of *"allies"*--needed in a hostile environment. They are people or groups who influenced Stephenson's career in some way. Sometimes they served as *"silent mentors"* who worked behind the scenes. For example,

> The Associate Director would smooth the waters for me to go certain places so when I arrived people knew that I was Black and they knew that I was with the

> Extension Service and I didn't get that much hostility. And I think he even encouraged people to invite me to do certain things....

The only female ally named by Dr. Stephenson was among her *"active mentors."* These were persons who gave direct advice or modeled a way to exist in the academic milieu. *"Uneasy allies"* were persons who were not necessarily friendly but were helpful. Dr. Samuels who coached her through her tenure review fits within this category. Finally, *"girlfriends"* were very important to Dr. Stephenson's survival system because with them she does not have to account for herself or the way she behaves. Friends from her childhood they can engage in *"home talk."*

> *We talk and interrupt each other, we finish each other's sentences. I speak as I feel. My speech has much more feeling to it in many instances because I don't have to pick and choose my words. Whatever comes out seems to be o.k. I just say the words, they just roll out and if someone doesn't understand it then they'll say, "Girl, clear me up on that."*

Both Kuumba Binti and Vivian Stephenson have said they had no role models because there were no other Black women in adult education that they knew. Their predominant reliance on male allies or *"kitchen cabinets,"* meant they were often placed in the position of outsider while being within (Collins, 1991). Collins and Lorde (cited in Collins, p.91); both believe that from this vantage point African American women can define themselves because being "outside" enables one to observe and learn the behaviors of the dominant group while shielding a self-defined standpoint.

Several features of Drs. Binti and Stephenson's support strategies are illuminated by African American Feminist theory to which we now turn.

African American Feminist Theory

Much of feminist theory is not helpful in explaining how Black women form their own identities in the face of a majority culture, or how they navigate hegemonic circumstances and institutions. Reasons for this have largely been attributed to historical distinctions in our experiences as women. For example, not only do African American women carry over from Africa a tradition of work in the public sphere (Ladner, 1980) but also they have a tradition of work in the professions (Giddings, 1984; Leggon, 1980; Bock, 1971). "Black women," says Jacqueline Fleming, "have in effect traditionally violated many of the feminine norms of passivity and dependence, qualities admired by both black and white males alike, and the lack of which incites suspicion" (1983, p. 310).

The distinction between White and Black women's experiences coupled with their struggle against racist oppression at the hands of White women as well as men (regardless of race) has created an identity that prevented Black women from participating in the feminist movement and has given rise to African American feminist theory.

Five currents constitute African American feminist theory. They are human solidarity and complementarity of the sexes; the importance of self-conscious struggle against general domination; the importance of social action; a lived experience of duality; and self-definition as a condition of survival (Collins, 1990; Steady, 1987; hooks, 1981; Giddings, 1984).

The three constructs of human solidarity, self-conscious struggle and social action are tied in that the former requires recognition of the interlocking aspects of domination while self-conscious struggle implies a cognizance of our position as nondominant persons in this society and the latter requires action in order to create a more humane society for all those *"who are left out."* Both Drs. Binti and Stephenson illustrated in their lived experience their belief in human solidarity as well as self-conscious struggle against a generalized ideology of oppression. Dr. Binti in her effort to be inclusive across lines of class, her conception of family--an inclusive metaphor for work relationships and Dr. Stephenson's continuous struggle in a hostile environment for 17 years. Both women are and have been active in social action groups at the community levels: Dr. Binti is active in 100 Black Women and Common Cause; Dr. Stephenson has been active in the Urban League and a Black service-oriented sorority.

Across four major scholars in African American feminist theory (Collins, 1990; Giddings, 1984; hooks, 1984; Steady, 1987) human solidarity and the struggle against general domination are reiterated as common refrains much as Dr. Binti stated, *"I try to help those who are left out. That to me is of equal importance no matter what the race."* In addition, this theory holds that the male is not "the other" as de Beauvoir termed women (cited in Rosser, 1992). Instead, gender difference is conceived as complementary. "Each gender constitutes the critical half that makes the human whole. Neither sex is totally complete in itself to constitute a unit by itself" (Steady, 1987, p.8). This theoretical explanation helped me understand why neither characterized men universally as the enemy even though Dr. Binti experienced gender discrimination in her workplace and Dr. Stephenson experienced sex-role stereotyping from her husband.

African American feminist theory also helps to explain the necessity for self-defined gender roles in Black women.

Self-definition and Gender Identity

Neither of these women had female mentors in adult education at the graduate school level nor in their respective university work places. Dr. Binti was the first female vice-president appointed at Delta University and the first woman to head Cooperative Extension there. Dr. Stephenson was the first Black woman hired in the college of agriculture at her university and the only adult educator. She is now the first woman and the first African American to serve as department chair at her current university.

It was necessary for Drs. Binti and Stephenson to create their own identity as Black women professionals in adult education. The gender identity of Black women is different from that of White women. The public/private split often used to distinguish the onset of women's oppression, a salient point of historical gender identity for feminists, has not been as profound

for Black women. Toni Morrison has written that Black women have been "both safe harbor and ship; they are both inn and trail. We, black women, do both. We don't find these places, these roles, mutually exclusive" (cited in Heilbrun, 1988 p.61). As a result, neither of these women had to overcome sex-role stereotyping in their upbringing which might have inhibited them from pursuing careers as professional women. Racial identity, rather than gender, has historically been the preeminent identity for African American women as was discussed earlier in this section. Although Dr. Binti admits that racial identity is constant, her narratives centered more frequently on gender when she spoke of experiences within her college because her campus is predominantly Black. Dr. Stephenson, on the other hand, spoke more often of race as central to interactions on her campus because her campus was predominantly White.

Racial Identity

Dr. Binti's racial identity is constant but is invoked contextually; her metaphor for this is--a *"black hat."* The social context for the establishment and maintenance of her racial identity is determined by her assumptions of a historically racist South, and her values regarding a gradual and tactical approach to social change. Properties of the *"black hat"* include possessing evidence and consideration of the context, but also, at a micro level, the black hat is manifested in the way Dr. Binti interacts with White people when she is doing business. I first noticed this at a business meeting; a usually extroverted person, she did not smile at all during the entire meeting. Later, she explained that when one smiles too much, White people do not take her seriously. On the other hand, interacting with the Black community requires a *"social agenda"* so that every social occasion serves a business purpose. Finally, *"psyching yourself out"* completes the properties of the black hat. To psych one self out refers to overcoming intimidation by using self-talk to resist feelings of being overpowered and dominated.

Dr. Stephenson stressed the racial isolation at her college when she described the salience of *"home talk."* She too, acknowledges the constancy of racial identity when she describes her archetypal identity as a *"Wise Woman."* The *"Wise Woman"* incorporates race along with gender, age, and professional identities; she is comfortable with her Blackness, her *"womanness,"* her age, and her profession regardless of *"whether anyone else is comfortable with it."* As a *"Wise Woman"* Dr. Stephenson relies on an intuition born from reflection on her life and her practice.

In the creation of her *"Wise Woman"* identity, Dr. Stephenson has articulated and resolved for herself how to struggle against domination--through reflection, and intuition. Dr. Binti has resolved her struggle within the constructs of *"families"* who may fall out with each other but who can also make up because at a very fundamental level she feels connected.

Melding and Articulation of Identities

Professional or occupational identity can be defined as mastery of a body of accumulated knowledge and skills along with an acceptance of norms based on definitions, attitudes, values, and assumptions shared with the collective reference group, in this case adult educators. Therefore, socialization into a profession or occupation is influenced by significant others within

the profession or field of practice. In addition, Broadhead (1983) notes that an identity is established when "others place [one] as a social object by assigning...the same words of identity that [one] appropriates for [oneself]..." (p.38). However, adult education is not clearly defined. We talk of its nature and scope but are reluctant to define what it is; arguably this restricts the extent to which others can place adult educators in a reference group, a pivotal action in establishing one's professional identity.

Each of the women in this study had to create her own professional identity. Dr. Kuumba Binti "melded" her personal mission with that of Delta University and adopted adult education as the collection of skills and attitudes that would help her achieve what had become one aim, that of promoting her university's mission--"service to people." Her belief that adult educators have a special sensitivity for community development issues, are active in community outreach, and are also knowledgeable about leadership development and accessing resources grows out of her experience and her context--a rural area of the Deep South. She says, *As a person who was not advantaged, I had a natural inclination towards work with the poor. ...We had food and the basic necessities, but I didn't come from a wealthy background and I saw poverty around me. In a forty-mile radius of [Delta University] poverty existed, and institutions, I think, are not about just serving in an ivory tower.*

Dr. Binti, therefore, adopted the social responsibility purpose of adult education, while Dr. Stephenson identified with the collaborative approach to learning as "her style." Indeed, collaboration was her preference in working with individuals even before she specialized in adult education and was cultivated in her relationship with her major professor in graduate school whom she has referred to as a "co-learner." Collaboration as a personal preference was "melded" with Dr. Stephenson's identity as an adult educator. Travisano (1970) has referred to the type of identity changes ("melding") that I have just described as alternations; he describes it as the appropriation of a new identity which is an extension of what is already considered a part of one's current character. He contrasts it with conversion--a radical and disruptive change in identity.

Professional identity is merely one of several identities each of us holds, but how each of us derives our professional identity hinges on how we articulate them (Broadhead, 1983). How did Drs. Binti and Stephenson determine the appropriate amount of importance to allot each of their, sometimes disparate, but simultaneously held identities? Each of them had to incorporate their professional identity into more personal identities--Dr. Binti as a *"family member"* and Dr. Stephenson as a *"Wise Woman"* because adult education had no distinct identity of its own. Their identities encompass those features of adult education that resonated with each woman's personal identity as shaped by her life experiences as female and Black. Dr. Binti sees adult education as a means to "uplift the race" and Dr. Stephenson sees it as a community of co-learners and an opportunity for individual empowerment.

Implications

In both their work circumstances, Dr. Binti and Dr. Stephenson required constellations of support: *"families"* in the case of Binti, and *"survival systems"* in the case of Stephenson.

The nature of the two systems differed; at the White institution the constellation was comprised of individuals while at the Black institution it was in group form. Both of these women found themselves in situations where they were the only adult educator in their immediate work environments. Even Cooperative Extension, an established adult education program, still exhibits signs of marginality on Dr. Binti's campus. To what extent does the marginality of adult education and its programs increase the need for increased ability to build *"survival systems"*? And to what extent does the racial environment of the institution affect constellations of support? Along the same lines, the lack of a critical mass of Black women in adult education professional associations indicates the need for us to seek out other Black women in our work environments for mentoring and support.

I agree with hooks (1984) that class is race-determined and with Steady who points out the danger that racial inequities will be obscured by class analysis. However, based on evidence in this study, it is quite likely that increasingly we will find class differences having a profound effect upon interpersonal relationships between Black men and women as the divide grows between Black women who have been entering professional jobs via higher education in larger numbers than Black men. Perhaps this is an area worth exploring in order to further the explanatory power of African American feminist theory.

Use of the life history method in this study begins a departure from, and an important addition to, adult education history by centering observation on the adult education practitioner. This research has pointed up the lack of an adult education professional identity as a separate identity. To the extent that this absence of identity reflects an absence of definition, it presents a critique of the field. On the other hand, the personal identity with the field expressed by each of the co-researchers points out an opportunity to deepen the inculcation of adult education as a personal and deeply felt commitment i.e. vocation. These life histories offer role models for nondominant persons in adult education; moreover, the innovative survival strategies created by both co-researchers are relevant to nondominant persons regardless of their field of practice.

In closing, it would seem that Drs. Binti and Stephenson did come from "otherwhere" since they had to create their own models of professional identity as they discovered, and developed in, the field of adult education. The models they designed were created under sometimes stressful conditions, made of gendered and colored cloth, and, indeed, have served them well.

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Making A Way Out of No Way: An Examination of the Educational Narratives of Reentry Black Women With Emphasis on Issues of Race, Gender, Class, and Color

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The purpose of this study was to examine the educational narratives of reentry Black women involved in higher education. This research focused on determining common themes in the school stories of eight Black women and sought to determine if their reentry stories exhibited continuity or discontinuity with their prior educational experiences. This examination encompassed a two-year dissertation project.

The theoretical framework for this study was twofold. First, the concept of Black feminist thought with its theories and extensive body of writings provided guidance and helped establish parameters for this research. This perspective refers to a body of knowledge that expresses the idea that the daily living of Black women in a society that is racist and sexist has produced a collective consciousness that resists being defined as less than, resists being stereotyped as undesirable, and seeks to define and empower its members by interpreting existence as a triumph. In addition to addressing matters of race and gender, this analysis also examines class and color issues.

Secondly, using this oppositional world view and its resulting epistemology encourages the researcher to use experience as a criterion for assessing knowledge. Therefore, the author's personal narrative and accompanying perspective were part of the study.

This was a qualitative study which was enthnographic in nature and used narrative analysis as the specific methodological instrument. The study examined the educational narratives of eight reentry Black women, including the author. An unstructured interview format, accompanied by an opening statement, and an interview guide were used in the study. The narratives were transcribed and the interviews were analyzed as text. Passages were dissected from the original transcript and given in support of the various emerging themes.

In order to accomplish the problem set forth in this research a triple bookkeeping systems approach (Erikson as cited in McAdams, 1988) was utilized. First, issues of ego were examined, specifically looking at issues of self-esteem and self-representation. Next, the body image was explored where issues of color were noted. And finally, the culture of each respondent was inspected by looking at how the women framed their stories as regards their race and gender.

A four-part system of field notes (Spradley, 1980) was used to enrich the data. This multi-level system of notes enhanced the process of narrative analysis by recording nuances, such as body language, eye contact, tone of voice, and hand and facial gestures.

Biographic techniques were used to interpret various phases of the narratives. Such methods identified turning points in the women's lives and highlighted certain aspects of the stories that were not overtly evident.

The sample consisted of eight women, including the author. The occurrence follows: two women in two-year community colleges, three in undergraduate schools, and three in graduate schools. The colleges designated for this sampling were: 1) a predominately Black women's college located in a large Southern metropolitan area; 2) a large Southern state university's main campus; 3) a predominately White women's college; and 4) a small junior college located in a Southern metropolitan area. The purposeful sample was obtained primarily by contacting college reentry programs and through means of snowball sampling.

An analysis of the data revealed that the issues of race, gender, class, and color were apparent either implicitly or explicitly in each of the educational narratives studied. These concerns were present in the early school stories of the women as well as in their reentry stories. Therefore, continuity was maintained between the two experiences. Racism was a detectable component of the stories of classroom interactions. Gender was more discernable in the respondents' social and family anecdotes. The data showed a definite continuity between the women's earlier educational experiences and their reentry experiences.

The concept of ethgender (Ransford & Miller, 1983), a view which holds that gender and race are inseparable for Black women, was apparent in the narratives of each woman. The stories that they related highlighted direct examples where being Black and female combined to make their lives different.

The women in this study learned to live their lives in the face of these omnipresent forces and developed various ways of coping that enabled them to survive and or succeed. In examining their methods of persisting during this reentry process, several strategies became apparent. The respondents faced situations inside and outside the classroom in one of three ways.

There were times that the women were silent. Occasionally they silenced themselves in the classrooms, refusing to speak out when they had answers or when they felt their answers would be controversial. At other times, the women silenced their thought processes particularly when the situations were painful or when to think about the dilemma would mean expending energy needed for their process of survival.

The second strategy or theme evident in their responses was negotiation, a method the respondents used to balance competing concerns. They would negotiate internally, the cost of action or inaction, or they would negotiate externally by taking some action that demonstrated an arbitration.

The final and third theme that emerged from the texts was resistance. The resistance engaged in by the subjects was externally manifested but was always preceded by inner turmoil and conflict in which consideration was given to the lurking variable of racism.

Overall, the women described a process of marginalization which occurred during their educational tenure. The isolation was partially self-imposed and included a refusal to participate in campus activities. It also extended to their personal family lives because the process of education

separated them from family members who did not have an education, did not value education, or saw education as a path to cultural bankruptcy.

Adult women who return to college comprise the fastest growing segment of the college population. Since the 1970s women have been returning to college in record numbers. Statistics show these women represent 41% of all female college students. Black females comprise the largest number of reentry students of color at the graduate and undergraduate level. Yet, if conclusions are drawn from the literature on reentry students, it would be assumed that reentry students are a generic group of learners who are White females. Compounding this is the fact that government and education statistics are kept by race and sex, and the two categories are not cross-referenced. Therefore, Black women as a group go unnoticed and unresearched, and their specific and individual needs remain unaddressed by academia.

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Comparative Analysis of Planning within Community-based Empowerment Program Models (for Health Promotion): Implications for African Americans

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Abstract

The intent of this paper is to compare, contrast, and critique four health promotion community-based paradigms. Model similarities and differences are explored relative to the incorporation of the empowerment process or strategy, the role of the practitioner, and community leadership involvement.

Introduction and Contextual Background Information

In recent years there has been a greater vocalization of the prevention perspective relative to some health issues and social problems ravaging American communities. Prevention is being touted as the most effective prescription for a wide range of social ills, such as violence or suicide, as well as physical illnesses such as AIDS, heart disease, diabetes, and cancer. This perspective is being advocated and is gaining greater acceptance by health professionals because of the growing awareness that the diseases of today are embedded in the social, cultural and economic fabric of society (Wallerstein, 1992). There is also the shared view that lifestyle choices are more attributable to the chronic diseases of today than biological or organic causal factors (Glanz, Lewis, and Rimer, 1990). The existing rationale and views have spawned the contention that prevention and health promotion achieved through an empowering social action process is the most effective approach for the intractable diseases such as heart disease, strokes, and diabetes that are claiming a disproportionate number of lives within African American and disadvantaged communities (Braithwaite and Lythcott, 1989; Wallerstein, 1992).

The purpose of this paper is to critically analyze four prevention and health promotion planning models which incorporate empowerment in their conceptual frame work and discuss some of the issues embedded in these paradigms. Their viability for stemming the deaths of African Americans resulting from chronic diseases is explored as well. There is a growing public health crisis among African Americans and the scrutiny of the merits of empowerment health promotion models is essential to discovering means to improve the overall quality of life among African Americans.

The literature on community health promotion and health education and reveals evidence of the incorporation of the empowerment construct in community-based health promotion coalition paradigms (Wallerstein and Bernstein, 1989; Bracht, 1990; Braithwaite, 1992; Airhihenbuwa, 1992). Firstly, references to the origin or emergence of empowerment can be traced to the 1986 World Health Organization (WHO)'s issuance of the definition of health

promotion. WHO defined health promotion as *the process of enabling people to increase control over and to improve their health* (Green and Raeburn 1990, p. 36). This definition issued in a new era because it lends significance to *people holding power* in health matters, and because the raison d'être of health promotion in the future can be seen to be the increasing transfer of control of important resources in health, notably knowledge, skills, authority, and money to the community (Green and Raeburn, 1990). [Green and Raeburn (1990, p.41) refer to community as a geographical area or interest community consisting of an aggregate of people who have a shared sense of values, norms, identity, etc. This is the definition that will be used in this paper also.]

Secondly, the term *enabling process* has been translated as a form of empowering; in many cases, they have become synonymous terms. With the focus of public health changing from institutional to community control through the re-definition of health promotion, WHO endorsed a community development approach which opened a gateway for self-help, citizen participation, and community control--the hallmarks of the community development approach (Green and Raeburn, 1990). A natural consequence appears to be that the mechanisms that have been used or employed to actualize the aims of health promotion have been community coalitions, boards, or councils or other forms of community groups. This probably accounts for the proliferation of coalitions in the 1980s.

Empowerment is broadly defined as a social-action process that promotes participation of people, organizations, and communities toward the goals of individual and community control, political efficacy, and improved quality of community life (Wallerstein, 1992). Rappaport (1984) is often referenced for his definition of empowerment as the process or mechanism by which people, organizations and communities *gain mastery over their lives*. He is also states that empowerment conveys both a psychological sense of personal control or influence and a concern with actual social influence, political power, and legal rights (Rappaport 1987, p. 121).

Conversely, diverse literature in the disciplines of epidemiology, stress research, social psychology, community psychology, psycho-immunology, occupational research, etc. has shown that powerlessness is a risk factor for disease (Wallerstein, 1992). This evidence of the linkage of powerlessness and the increased risk for disease has been documented by a growing body of literature, and as a result, has become a catalyst for the adoption of empowerment as a strategy for health promotion programs aimed at enhancing health status through enabling disadvantaged people to collectively identify problems to address, identify resources, and to make collaborative decisions regarding intervention/action strategies (Braithwaite, 1992; Wallerstein and Bernstein, 1988).

Description and Analysis of Models

The four models analyzed in this paper: Wallerstein and Bernstein (1988)'s Alcohol and Substance Abuse Prevention (ASAP) model; Braithwaite and Lythcott (1989)'s Coalition Partnership model; Bracht and Kingsbury (1990)'s community organization development (COD) model; and Airhihenbuwa (1992)'s PEN-3 model, incorporate empowerment in gradient degrees in their formulations. Firstly, Wallerstein and Bernstein (1988) developed a program design that

incorporates empowerment education principles more extensively than any revealed in a literature review to date. The foundation or guiding principle for the model is explicated through Wallerstein's (1992, p. 203) statement that *an empowerment education approach will always engage people through a group dialogue process in identifying their problems; in critically assessing the social, historical, and cultural roots of their problem and in developing action strategies to change their personal and social lives.*

Wallerstein and Bernstein (1988) operationalize empowerment education in their ASAP model, which was designed to prevent substance abuse among teenagers. The ASAP model includes the three-step methodology inspired by the populist adult educator Paulo Freire in several affective, cognitive, behavioral, and social components that reflect activities or learning modalities that are participant centered, small group-centered, and active learning-oriented (cognitively and behaviorally). The program components also enhance and promote self achievement, social support, and decision making capabilities (Wallerstein and Bernstein 1988, pp. 389-399).

Briefly, the program process involves students (middle and high school volunteers) visiting a Hospital Emergency Center and a County Detention Center and interacting with patients, jail inmates, and their families. Students also participate in a curriculum which include peer pressure strategies, alternative-choice making, critical thinking, analysis of media influences on consumption, etc. Freire's ideas are prominent in the design of program activities which encompass: the participation of young people as co-learners with health professionals, educators, patients, and jail inmates; the concept that the students' experiences are valued as contributing to social knowledge about substances abuse; the acquisition and demonstration of critical thinking skills through students asking their own questions of patients, jail inmates, and among themselves; and the group dialogue to explore root causes and motivate students to engage in creative actions that address problems in their communities.

The Coalition Partnership model of Braithwaite and Lythcott (1989) recognizes powerlessness as an antecedent condition that increases risk factors for disease and death among the poor. To reverse the situation, empowerment becomes the theoretical antecedent condition that will foster positive health and enable the community to address health and other social ills. Braithwaite and Lythcott's (1989) multi-phased model provides the creation of a formal structure, a community coalition board, whose primary activities are to make decisions, control resources, identify intervention strategies, and develop plans for implementation. The program phases include: community analysis and assessment; identification of community resources and of representatives, leaders, partners, etc.; development of a demographic and epidemiological profile of target area; development of a consumer-dominated decision making community coalition board; intervention/prevention program implementation and dissemination; and evaluation.

Although Braithwaite (1992) cites that empowerment is a strategy it can be viewed as a set of activities too. The coalition board is a crucial part of this paradigm and decision making is the raison d'être of this operational structure. The rationale is that decision making powers are essential for the subsequent development of empowerment process, of which self-reliance, self-help, and a sense of group ownership are integral parts. Another axial point in the Coalition

Partnership model is the stipulation that the community coalition board should acquire training and technical assistance in crucial skills areas, such as conflict management, fiscal management, problem solving, program planning, etc., so that the entity will be able to function as a cohesive unit and perform successfully the tasks entailed in coalition development or formation. Not only do these skills facilitate the coalition's survival, but the acquisition of skills, knowledge, appropriate attitudes and values, undeniably, can be a form of empowerment education and a very important by-product of the program process. Thus, empowerment or self-reliance are deliberately attained through a step-by-step procedure within the Coalition Partnership model. Also decision-making relative to disease prevention strategies is an integral model feature, and it very possibly contributes significantly to community empowerment.

The third model examined here, Bracht & Kingsbury's (1990) community organizational development (COD) health promotion model, successfully mesh the processes of purposefully stimulating conditions for change and mobilizing communities for health promotion. Similar to Braithwaite's Coalition Partnership model, their model is also multi-phased. The authors outline a five-stage model of organizing or planning for health promotion that is built on long-standing community organization principles. Bracht and Kingsbury (1990) scrutinized experiences from former disease prevention programs in North America, as well as recent comprehensive/intersectoral health promotion efforts in Europe and derived at least five stages within which citizen involvement and organizing occur. The stages can be viewed as a sequential planning process for health promotion programs, although they are overlapping and sometimes nonlinear. The stages include: community analysis and mobilization; design and initiation of intervention strategies; implementation; program maintenance; and dissemination and reassessment.

This model advocates early and continuous involvement of citizen and organizational leaders to build collaborative partnerships and to facilitate broad community participation. Similar to the Coalition Partnership model, it also includes the establishment of some formal operational structure such as a board or advisory council. A strength of this model is its emphasis on the update of the community analysis and the continual evaluation of the effectiveness or impact of programs, in order to chart new directions.

The final community-based health promotion model explored here, is the PEN-3 model proposed by Airhihenbuwa (1992). This model has a basic assumption that the cultural beliefs, attitudes, and practices of African Americans are intertwined with their economic, social and political experiences or position in the American society. Accordingly, attitudes, beliefs, values, and culture impact the health practices (and health status) of the community and these should play a significant role in any prevention effort. Airhihenbuwa (1992) argues that there has been a failure to devise a health intervention model appropriate to the cultural values of African Americans. To address this gap, he proposes the PEN-3 model, predicated on culturally appropriateness, to illustrate how cultural indices can be identified and incorporated into the development, implementation, and evaluation of health promotion programs targeted for low-income African Americans. The model is proposed to serve as guidelines for health educators (Airhihenbuwa, 1992).

The PEN-3 model consists of three dimensions of health beliefs and behavior that are dynamically interrelated and interdependent-- educational diagnosis of health behavior, health education, and cultural appropriateness of health behavior. The dimensions also serve as program phases. The PEN-3 model's uniqueness lies in the identification of those influences that enable or constrain existing health-related behaviors and the analysis of the existing and underlying health beliefs and attitudes to determine whether they are harmful or harmless. Decisions to modify behavior are based on the determination or isolation of those health related behaviors, negative perceptions, and practices that may lead persons, families and neighborhoods to engage in health practices that are harmful.

Embeddedness of Empowerment Construct

Some mention has been made in the foregoing discussion with regard to how the empowerment construct is interwoven in the several paradigms. It is very apparent that there are gradient levels of the incorporation of empowerment within the various approaches. For Bracht and Kingsbury's COD model, empowerment may be an implied by-product of program outcomes. Although theoretically the community organization and participatory process will enable a community to become empowered through the identification of problems and the mobilization of the community to successfully address those concerns, empowerment is not mentioned as a construct in Bracht and Kingsbury's model.

There is not a great deal of difference between Bracht and Kingsbury's COD model and the PEN-3 model with regard to the lack of explicit emphasis on empowerment. The PEN-3 model treats empowerment peripherally in that the term is only mentioned in one instance. It was stated that "when the existing positive health practices are identified, they should be reinforced and used to empower the community" (Jack, Airhihenbuwa, Murphy, Thompson-Reid, Wheatley, and Dickson-Smith 1993, p. 64). Seemingly, empowerment is achieved instrumentally in both models.

For Braithwaite's Coalition Partnership model, empowerment is not only a strategy, but it is also embodied in the intersectoral community coalition board, whose primary activities are to make decisions, control resources, identify intervention strategies, and develop plans for implementation (Braithwaite and Lythcott, 1989). As mentioned earlier, empowerment can be viewed as a set of activities too, in that empowerment or self-reliance are deliberately attained through a step-by-step procedure. Additionally, community empowerment can be realized from the spin-off effects of the activities of the community coalition board and citizen participation.

In comparison to all of the models examined here, empowerment plays an even more central role in Wallerstein and Bernstein's ASAP model. The ASAP model incorporates empowerment through an educational process--empowerment education. Actually, empowerment education is the driving force of the ASAP health promotion and prevention model. The model holistically employs the Freirian 3-step methodology, strategies, and techniques. In fact, the Freirian methodology is perhaps the most exemplar and fundamental empowerment process in current literature.

Empowerment Issues vis-'a-vis the Practitioner and Community Leadership

Empowerment, as a construct, is not the sole variable that should be examined in relationship to community-based health promotion models which may have import for the African American community. The role of the practitioner is an important dynamic in any discussion of such programs impacting African Americans. All of the models indicate the presence of practitioners, educators, or researchers. What is not always clear in each approach, with the exception of the Coalition Partnership model, is how the practitioner establishes rapport with community leaders/members and gains entry to the community. Community entry and building credibility and trust are significant parts of an earlier paradigm of the Coalition Partnership model described by Braithwaite and Lythcott (1989). The necessity of the coordinator (1) to negotiate the tactful introductions to community gatekeepers, (2) to be validated by formal and informal networks, (3) to listen with a *keen ear* to the emerging community concerns, and (4) to develop dialogue about problems that can be addressed were cited as practical things that must be attended (Braithwaite et al. 1989, p. 59).

With regard to the role of the practitioner vis-'a-vis the community, the PEN-3 model and the Bracht and Kingsbury COD model imply that the practitioner intervenes to study the community and plays a facilitative role in involving the community sectors to assist in needs assessment and dissemination of results. The Freirian approach incorporated by the ASAP model implies a facilitative role for health professionals as well. The health professionals are in the background providing support, while the emphasis is on the participants whose concerns shape the program. It is through the participants' leadership that the health concerns are acted upon. This facilitative role played by the practitioner, if not adeptly performed, can raise a question about potential influence or power of knowledge and expertise. While the practitioner or expert may expose people to certain experiences, ways of thinking, and even impart skills--influence at this level has great potential for shaping solutions. Thus, a more crucial question becomes--is group decisionmaking or "solution-making" really autonomous? Such relationships, whether organizer or educator, bait the philosophical question of the certitude and essence of community control or empowerment.

Other essential questions have to be raised as well as we examine these paradigms for application relative to the African American population: (1) *Who* will decide what is a problem? Even if representatives of members of the community are involved, who among this group will exert the most influence in defining the problem, and are the interests of the community always voiced by proxy? (2) What is the relative importance of professionals or practitioners' (the outside/change agent) definition or needs and lay community (the insider/target audience) expressions of need? These questions and others should be posed and answered, because they have major implications for how community control and empowerment will be evidenced through the process of designing strategies for intervention or policy changes, or whether they will exist at all.

The most obvious similarity among the models is that they all advocate involvement and participation of community members and leaders. Airhihenbuwa (1992), Bracht and Kingsbury (1990), Braithwaite (1992), Wallerstein and Bernstein (1988) involve citizens or participants in

the needs assessment, decisions relative to prevention strategies, and throughout the entire process. The involvement of community leaders is also a component of several models, particularly the PEN-3 model and the Coalition Partnership model. For these models, then, issues of empowerment and control are undeniably expressed through the role played by the community leadership. However, none of the models account for who emerges as *leaders*, who is sanctioned or appointed as *leaders*, and, which *leaders*, for whatever reasons, influence outcomes by selecting *not to participate* in the process. Such nuances in community-based health promotion models can play crucial roles in goal achievement as well as in terms of control determinants for programs impacting African Americans.

In conclusion, this paper presents some encouraging evidence that health promotion community-based program models have the potential for enabling African Americans to increase control over and improve the quality of life in their communities. However, cautionary measures should be taken to not consider these models as panacea or the *carte blanche, all-in-one-answer* to the African American public health dilemma and impose them without careful consideration of some underlying empowerment issues. It is equally important to be observant of and to have an in-depth understanding of the particularistic, diverse needs and characteristics African American communities. Finally, another research need emerges from the exploration of this genre of health promotion empowerment models--in that this area of study opens the gateway to a closely linked and fertile area of research within adult education program planning. In view of the fact that empowerment education and community education are prominent bodies of knowledge within the adult education field, it seems appropriate and mandatory that adult education practitioners and theorists assume leadership in the community-based health promotion research.

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Inadequate Funding of Extension at the Historically Black Land-grant Colleges

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Abstract

This paper examined the issue of funding at the Historically Black land-Grant Institutions relative to extension education using information obtained from previous publications. Generally, funding for extension at these institutions was found to be low compared to funding for the 1862s. Although funding for the Historically Black Land Grant Colleges (1890 Institutions and the Tuskegee Institute) has increased considerably over the years, these institutions still have a long way to go compared to those established in 1862 under the First Morrill Act. Nonetheless, the 1890s have continued to address the problems and concerns of their clientele with the resources available to them. What the 1890 Institutions lacked in funding they made up for in genuine commitment to serve those in need. Funding remains a major factor in the current and strategic positions of the Historically Black Land Grant Colleges as they prepare for the 21st century.

Introduction

The Second Morrill Act was passed in 1890. It was similar to the Morrill Act of 1862, but gave incentives for the establishment of land-grant colleges for blacks. Today these 17 colleges and universities are collectively known as the 1890 Institutions. These institutions were designed to accomplish what the first Morrill Act did not achieve--extend educational benefit to Blacks, but were not funded as the institutions established by the first Morrill Act. In view of the critical role funding plays in education, the issue of funding at the Historically Black Land-Grant Colleges and its implication for extension education is examined.

Purpose and Methods

This paper presents from a historical perspective the funding of extension education at the United States Historically Black Land-Grant Colleges. The paper is based on information obtained from journal articles, public laws, and documentaries. It documents that funding for these institutions has been consistently inadequate. Additionally, the paper examines implications of the funding history for extension education at these institutions.

Results

Information reveals that despite some indication of interest in sharing the 1862 funds, most southern states took no action on behalf of land-grant institutions for Blacks until, they were induced to do so by the Second Morrill Act. Federal funds entrusted to the States for distribution to these institutions were misappropriated, thus, limiting the development of land-

grant colleges for Blacks (Hall 1973; Eddy 1956; Jones 1976). Therefore, in February, 1970 the representatives of the 1890 land-grant institutions met with the Secretary of Agriculture to describe with supporting data the difficult financial situation in their institutions.

Jones (1976) noted that at this meeting, officials of the 1890 land-grant institutions expressed their belief that their institutions had been over looked in both State and Federal support, especially by the USDA. After several meetings and conferences with various committees and groups, Congress passed the Appropriation Act of 1972. The USDA 1972 Appropriation Act, provided research and programming extension funds including $4 million for fiscal year 1972 to the 17 institutions in 16 States (Jones 1976). Guidelines were developed for administering the appropriation to the 1890 Land-Grant Colleges and Tuskegee Institute.

A memorandum of understanding between the 1890 and 1862 land-grant institutions defining roles and responsibilities of the institutions involved was developed. Jones (1976) observed that this new funding procedure helped the 1890s develop and carry out programs reaching some audiences that were in the past not adequately involved in extension activities.

The break through in Federal support for agricultural programs at 1890 institutions came after the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Under the authority of the Public Law 89-106, the Secretary of Agriculture allocated $283,000 in discretionary funds to be divided among the 1890 institutions for research beginning in 1967. In fiscal year 1972 the funds amounted to $8,600,000 for research and $4,000,000 for Extension. Since 1977, the 1890 institutions have been funded directly under Public Law 95-113. By then, the annual appropriation for these institutions had reached $13,352,000 for research, and $8,400,000 for Extension. In 1990, the centennial year, $25,300,000 was allocated for research and $24,000,000 for Extension. Congress authorized a $50,000,000 grant in 1984 to improve research facilities at the 1890 institutions, and another $50,000,000 grant in 1986 to improve Extension facilities. The Farm Bills of 1977, 1981, and 1985 continued to provide additional funding for extension work at the 1890 land-grant colleges and Tuskegee Institute.

Section 1444 of Title XIV National Agricultural Research, Extension, and Teaching Policy Act of 1977 increased the total amount of funding appropriated to the 1890 land-grant colleges and Tuskegee Institute. The institutions are referred to as "eligible institutions." The Act provided:

further expansion of extension programs,

the merger and/or elimination of duplicate programs (being conducted by both 1862 and 1890 institutions), and

funding for extension employees retirement. The act specified that beginning with the end of fiscal year 1979, not less than 4 percent of the total appropriations for that year under the Smith-lever Act will go to the eligible institutions provided that this amount is not less than that received in fiscal year 1978. The funds were divided according to the formula found in the Smith-Lever Act and its amendments.

Section 1431 of Title XIV National Agricultural Research, Extension, and Teaching Act Amendments of 1981 amends the funding percentage for extension work at the 1890 land-grant colleges and Tuskegee Institute found in Section 1444 of the 1977 act. The amendment stipulated that funding for extension work at these institutions should not be less than 5 1/2 percent of the total appropriation starting with fiscal year 1983, and then increasing to 6 percent the following years through the fiscal year ending September of 1985.

Section 1415 of Title XIV of the Food and Security Act of 1985 amends Section 1444 by striking out "through the fiscal year ending September 30, 1985." This amendment allowed for an annual 6 percent increase of funds for extension work at the 17 institutions. The amendment also specifically added "and related acts pertaining to cooperative extension work at the land-grant institutions identified in the Act May 8, 1914" at the end of the section. This revision covers all legislative acts and their amendments following the Smith-Lever Act of 1914.

The Federal formula for funding agricultural programs under the grant mechanism of Public Law 89-106 in 1967 was a breakthrough in Federal funding. This trend continued with many efforts sponsored under legislative authority of the 1977 Farm Bill, Public Law 95-113. Generally, the funding for the 1890s has increased considerably over the years (figure 1). Nonetheless, these institutions still have a long way to go compared to those established in 1862 under the First Morrill Act.

Table 1 presents Extension Service funding for the 1890s (the Historically Black Land-Grant Colleges) and the 1862s from 1984 to 1994. The information shows that even in this decade, the 1890s have consistently been given a small proportion of the total Extension dollars compared to the 1862s.

Table 1. Extension Service Funding 1984-1994 (in thousands of dollars).

Year	Smith-Lever funds to 1862s	Funding for 1890s
1984	$314,116	$17,241
1985	$322,003	$17,241
1986	$306,392	$16,877
1987	$315,435	$16,877
1988	$323,114	$27,799
1989	$326,503	$27,799
1990	$330,892	$31,273
1991	$359,870	$32,302

1992	$377,541	$34,238
1993	$380,652	$32,730
1994	$392,122	$33,373

Source ES CMS BAD

04/29/94

Implications

The Historically Black Land-Grant Colleges have not been well funded. Thus the development of the Historically Black Land-Grant Colleges and extension education at these colleges was limited by funding. Budget remains a major factor in the current and strategic positions of the 1890 institutions as they prepare for extension education in the 21st century. First, this observation underscores the need in these institutions for more funds if they are to adequately extend educational benefits to their clientele. Second, the challenges of these colleges call for more flexibility, better funding, and sharing of resources. Getting good results with inadequate funding requires the art of shifting operations in ways that allow the institutions to cut discretionary costs and overhead without compromising the quality of their services. For instance, having multi-institution programs, and personnel allow colleges to reap the benefits of necessary programs while paying a fraction of their costs. Third, increased financial pressures may force Historical Black Land-Grant Colleges to constantly examine themselves and their mission to determine what changes must occur in their education programs and activities.

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Learning in Black Greek Letter Societies: "An Unrecognized Collaborative Approach to Adult Education"

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Community organizations offer opportunities for learning that differ from the traditional forms of structured education in the formal school setting. Such organizations are consistently engaged in methods to develop and promote education in order to meet their mission and goals (Ferro, 1990). Community organizations, not open to everyone, reveal a unique environment that allows for group learning processes, in particularly collaborative forms of adult education. This alternative form of educational practice may provide a different strategy for educators working with minority groups or diverse populations. The one type of secret organization with which I am most familiar is the Black Greek Letter Society. My research revealed interesting perspectives about the way in which these societies foster creative strategies for learning, sharing, group cohesiveness, and leadership development.

Defining the Secrecy of the Society

If the term "knowledge is power" is correct, then it would serve as the underlying theme of secret societies. The concept of being secretive suggests two distinct perspectives. First, information pertaining to these organizations is hidden. However, I venture to extend that perspective to include the act of protecting or guarding that which is unknown to all. Second, persons who separate themselves from others and are widely distinguishable from others while sharing mutual interests, common culture, and participation in characteristic relationships are considered a society (Herdt, 1990).

There are many ideologies surrounding the concept of secret societies. Every country, community, and culture of peoples has its own set of values and norms, rites of passage and rituals, and criteria for acceptance into some form of private affiliation. Past literature has heavily focused on secret societies that are viewed as uncivilized or tribal in nature and scope. The research from this study supports the belief that secret societies represent a larger domain of communal organizations.

Methodology

As a member of a Black Greek Letter society, I currently experience the life-long membership in a secret societal order. Researching information about secret organizations suggests a contradiction.

The generic purpose of research is to discover and share unknown information about a subject matter.

My purpose is not to reveal the secrets of these societies, but to create an awareness and appreciation for the educational value these organizations may suggest to the educational community. The terms black and African American are used interchangeably in this research with respect to all of the participants, their descriptions of themselves, and past literature. Also the terms "pledging" and "membership intake" will both be used later in this research. This is done in recognition of those participants who joined Greek Letter organizations in earlier years as well as those of recent years.

The most important aspect to remember is that any information written down runs the risk of telling all secrets. Therefore, it must be understood that those organizations whose secrets are well kept will not have written materials available to individuals. Any secret rituals and vows may only be spoken and passed on to new members in the form of initiation. It is participation in this ritual in which I believe constitutes the greatest amount of solidarity to the group.

For African Americans, the concept of passing information down through oral histories is and embedded in the heritage of our culture (Donlon, 1993). Knowledge was passed from generation to generation through storytelling, spiritual songs, and religious lessons. Presently, storytelling is incorporated into the sermons given on Sundays in African American churches. These stories may be actual stories from the Bible, as well as personal experiences.

More Than Just a Club

There are a great number of organizations that constitute secret societies. For example there are reference books of professional organizations like The American Medical Association or The American Dental Association that are private organizations (Encyclopedia of Associations, 1994). There is also a reference book that list alphabetically all social and professional Greek letter organizations that have been established since the late 1700's (Robson, 1968). Alexis de Tocqueville noted that America is a nation of joiners. Americans, regardless of age, condition or disposition form associations. Therefore if anything characterizes the existence of any community organization it is diversity (Ferro, 1990). However, not all are viewed as productive or positive. Though many groups have educational perspectives, some are not widely accepted as educational avenues for self-improvement purposes. Organizations such as the Ku-Klux Klan were created uphold the notions of segregation and superiority of a particular race . Other organizations, such as the Shriners, share the aspects of secret ceremonies and rituals, but have a far greater purpose of service to the community. Membership is selective and there does exist basic requirements for consideration into the organization. However, funds raised by this organization are often given to charitable community programs and organizations.

Though violence and gangs are not new phenomena in our world, there has been an over-whelming amount of attention given to the existence of gang violence and youth. These organizations are often attractive to young people because they offer similar characteristics found in other secret societies more highly respected. Like other secret organizations, gang members share a valued communal relationship with other members, a sense of belonging,

affirmation from peers, as well as respect and responsibility. These groups are highly organized and have a definite hierarchical rank order system. Lastly, gangs bring to the forefront the most truthful, but terrifying reality. These organizations present a haven for its members. It serves purposes that the family of the past was believed to provide, mainly protection and an allied support system. Nevertheless, membership is very selective and often must be obtained through vigorous and brutal circumstances.

The founding and names for many of these organizations have ancient historical roots like other secret societies. For example, there exist a national gang known as the "crypts." This title stems from the word "crypto" from the Greek word kruptos which means hidden. The dictionary describes crypto as secret, hidden, and covert. It also refers to the noun form of crypto as "one who covertly supports a certain doctrine, group, or party" (American Heritage Dictionary, 1992). Thus, the meaning is clear and the same among all persons who affiliate with secret societies. The term's usage is seemingly universal, but the applications vary from group to group.There have also been secret societies created for the wives and children of men in secret orders. For example, the Order of the Eastern Star was established with the notion of providing an organization for the female family members (by biological or marital association only) of the Fraternal Order of Free Masonry (Order of the Eastern Star Constitution State of Tennessee, 1927). Some secret organizations exist for the mere sake of social interaction. One such group that no longer exist was called the Gridiron Nights. The organization's sole purpose was to entertain the friends and special guests of its members and "banish the boresome features of dining" (Dunn, 1915 p. 1). The spirit of this organization lives on through what is today known as the Gridiron Club Restaurant.

The cyclopaedia of secret societal organizations, The Dictionary of Secret Organizations, The Handbook of College Greek Letter Societies, and other reference books prove Mr. Tocqueville's aforementioned belief about Americans wanting to join associations. It was necessary to recall those aspects that make an organization obviously appear secretive and highly selective. Interestingly, these qualities could also be attributed to groups and organizations that had not traditionally been regarded as secret societies.

Others Not Normally Considered Secret

Certain organizations share common characteristics with secret societies and are secret orders in many respects. However, they have not been overtly recognized in that capacity. Two examples are the military and the Boy and Girl Scouts of America. Common belief may be that these organizations are basically open and accepting to everyone. However, scouting organizations and the military have certain criteria that must be met leading until actually joining the ranks of previous members. Each organization has specific criteria. Nevertheless, membership and acceptance is dependant on present qualities and responsibilities held after membership. Upon joining, members are required to take oaths of allegiance. There are induction ceremonies, emblems and certificate presentations, and a distinctive acknowledgement and acceptance of a rank order system. These formalities may be found in any organization, but it is the exchange of particular hand shakes, language, songs and literature that is not shared with the general public that present the elements of secrecy.

Scouting in America

In scouting, each member must make a pledge to be: dutiful to God and country; obey scout law; help other people at all times; keep physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight in that particular order (Handbook For Boys, 1948; Boy Scout Handbook, 1990). This process unifies the group while displaying a level of trust given to them to uphold the pledge. Each scout at a very early stage in life begins to separate themselves from those who are not scouts. It is hoped that they develop a concept of loyalty and responsibility to the group, and internalize specific group norms into their personal repertoire. Herdt (1990) suggests that secrecy is an intentional process that differentiates the included from the excluded while building solidarity. For boy scouts there are stages that come later in the life of scouting. Ascribing to different levels of scouting may lead to one becoming a scout master or eagle scout, the highest rank of boy scouting.

There exists a fraternal order known as Order of the Arrow (OA). This is a closed group of invited persons whose membership selection is based on their past service. Though this organization does not link itself to the scouting organizations, many of its members are former high ranking boy scouts. Members are selected through a voting procedure and endure a secret process that can continue into their adult years. The voting procedure is highly selective and secret. Nevertheless, specifics on how each member is chosen is kept confidential to the order. There exist three levels of OA and membership is considered a sign of prestige (Milligan, personal communication, September 28, 1993). The OA is an example of how the notion of group affiliation and elitism is instilled in childhood and continued into adulthood.

The Military Perspective

America, along with other nations, create and glorifying one of the most influential secret organizations known to mankind---the military. Opinions differ with regard as to whether the military is a selective group. However, there are certain types of people who are chosen to be in the armed forces. Without focusing too heavily on the principle, I will suggest that the public outcry surrounding the lift of the ban on gays in the military suggest that many Americans have a particular prototype of what type of individual should serve our country. This suggests an air of selectiveness, but the strongest links to a secret society are displayed in the concepts of secrecy and having a rank order system.

Secrecy is always coupled with hierarchy (Herdt, 1990). Burns, (personal communication, October 3, 1993) an airman in the United States Air Force, presented this view: There does exist a ranking system. You are either an enlisted serviceman or an officer. It's better to be an officer. You are more highly respected...people above your rank can tell you what to do and it's expected that you follow these orders.

Unlike most other secret organization, membership in the military does not have to be a lifelong commitment. The individual can choose whether or not they wish to make a lifelong commitment to the armed forces. However, each member of every branch shares one mission, serving and protecting. Specifically, all members take an oath to "serve and protect the country,

obey laws of the president, and obey laws of ranking official" (Burns, personal communication, October 3, 1993).

A training program, known as basic training, is a time when new members are put through rigorous tests, both written and physical.

> ...Basic training builds discipline. You are required to meet certain expectations and you keep on doing the task until you get it right. There exist times of humility. This is all necessary because it makes you more aware of what you're doing and why. Everyone must be humbled in order for them to learn to work together. (Burns, personal communication, October 3, 1993).

The concept of humility emerges as the most important factor in creating group cohesiveness and collaboration among members or organizations, especially secret organizations. This concept serves as a definite way to make individuals involved in the membership process understand their own limitations. Only with this type of understanding can they begin to depend on other members to act in a time of need. This concept will be addressed further in the examination of Black Greek Letter societies.

My interviewee was not in agreement with my suggestion that the military might indeed be a secret society of men and women. I asked him as to whether there were military secrets that were never shared beyond those persons in the military. He answered yes and adde that there were even secrets that were not shared with all members of the military. Hence, he had to admit that there are secrets shared by a select few and that indirectly the military constitutes a secret society.

Greek Letter Societies

Unlike many secret organizations, Greek letter societies were born on the college or university campus. Phi Beta Kappa, the first of all Greek letter societies was founded in 1776 at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia (Robson, 1968). It was established to represent a select group of students who would share social and literary purposes and ideals.

Through the years numerous societies were created that represented those same ideals and others that each group's founders felt were worthy of serving as principles for the organizations. A large number of these societies were created for social reasons as opposed to a strictly academic nature. Nevertheless, the names given to the groups were combinations of letters from the Greek alphabet. The Greek letters were chosen as a symbol of appreciation and recognition of the leadership of the Ancient Greeks. Later these same symbols would be used to name future organizations whose goals and purposes would far outreach those of some earlier social fraternal organizations.

In every society there are people whose needs, concerns, or well being are not recognized. Because the college environment is simply a microcosm of larger society, it is not surprising that this same form of discrimination is present. For example, college fraternities and

sororities were created to give college men and women a more enriched college experience. However, because of racial segregation blacks were often excluded from these circles. Therefore they had to create their own organizations to provide themselves with a realm of peers and a network of resource people to depend upon.

The creation of these societies began at Black liberal art colleges in the early nineteen hundreds. Their mission at the time was to disprove the notion that education for Blacks was dangerous and futile. The students decided to also use the Greek alphabet to name their organizations that would also foster leadership. This was in response to former United States Vice President John C. Calhoun's belief that a Negro would never learn to parse a Greek verb or to could ever solve a problem in Euclid.

Making Black History in America

Black Greek Letter Societies (BGLS) got their start in 1906 with the establishment of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Incorporated. This idea was soon applied to create the first Black Greek Letter Sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha in 1908. These two organizations inspired the creation of other Black Greek Letter Societies. All of these organizations have emerged as some of the most influential contributors to today's African American history. Currently, there are eight nationally recognized Black Greek Letter organizations. The fraternal organizations are Alpha Phi Alpha, Kappa Alpha Psi, Phi Beta Sigma, and Omega Psi Phi. The sororities are Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Zeta Phi Beta, and Sigma Gamma Rho. These organizations make up the umbrella organization known as The National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC). There are newly formed Black Greek Letter societies, however, only those recognized under the NPHC will be discussed in this research.

Each Black Greek Letter Society has its own charter, rites and rituals, emblem, songs, secret handshakes, colors, speech and gestures. Each society shares the history and a common theme or philosophy that distinguishes them from each other as well as those who are non-Greek affiliated.

One way in which members are visually distinguished from each other and non-Greeks is by their fraternity and sorority clothing. Each organization has its own style of paraphernalia that presents beautiful colors and emblems, phrases and historical aspects of the organization. Active members wear these articles of clothing symbolizing personal affiliations to a particular fraternity or sorority and respect for those founders of the organization. Membership dues provide a substantial amount of the monetary funds to support these organizations. Payment of membership dues is extremely important. It establishes *active* membership with the organization and provides strong financial support. These monies are used to establish scholarships and provide other needed services to the community. However, the importance of membership dues is not solely for the continued support of the organization, but also for the personal responsibility that comes with being a member. People who continue to support the organization and who feel an obligation to give continuous funds ensure the organization's livelihood and perpetuity.

Reasons for Joining A Society

There are at least four general reasons individuals may choose to join a BGLS. The first reason is for the association with other peers. The attraction to being a part of the elite group or the leaders may account for the rebirth of membership to Greek Letter societies in general during the 1970's and 1980's (Lowe, 1987). Membership provides those involved with a shared sense of unity. Past research supports the belief that membership can positively effect the individual in a variety of ways (Schuh, Triponey, Heim, & Nishimura).

Some people may select joining a sorority or fraternity as a means of showing their coming of age. It is very common for college students to join social organizations. For some people, their parents, other siblings, or other family members may be members of Greek Letter societies. Some students feel that achieving membership in the same organization shows respect and loyalty to the legacy of their parents. However, it is important to state that membership in these organizations far exceeds a rite of passage. Those individuals who may not understand the most important factors in joining these organizations may be shocked and disillusioned with the most valued meanings and purposes of the organization. Therefore it is necessary for aspiring members to carefully evaluate their reasoning for wanting membership.

Ferro (1990) states that in order to accomplish their mission and goals, community groups must continually focus on the development and promotion of educational endeavors. The least recognized reason for group affiliation is that Black Greek Letter societies may provide the first opportunity African Americans have to experience learning that is centered around their own culture.

For many African Americans most, it not all, of their learning is received from a European perspective. Black Greek Letter organizations are one arena where the founders, initiators, producers, and historians are African American people who have shared the life experience of growing up black in America. This recognition of contributions made by African Americans in the development of this country without focusing only on slavery and anti-bellum connotations may be a new source of inspiration for African Americans.

Lastly, upheld as the most noble reason to attempt membership in Black Greek Letter Societies is that individuals are given the direct opportunity to serve their communities. The common theme within all Black Greek Letter Societies is to serve the community. Although not all Black Greek Letter Societies were formed for these reasons, they have served as advocates for community awareness and action. These societies can often influence public attitude and political policy, and help create a more literate and productive citizenry (Ferro, 1990).

As members learn more about one another, they can begin to better understand how to utilize their abilities as a group to serve their communities. This philosophy must be incorporated into each member's personal value system. This is the reason why is it extremely important for aspiring members to critically evaluate the reasons why they wish to become members. In order to ensure that only those persons who fully subscribed to the beliefs of brotherhood, sisterhood and community service may become members, aspiring persons must

endure a learning process that provides leadership training and personal development for adulthood.

The Learning Process

The traditional aspect of learning through the transfer of information from knowledgeable persons to uninformed individuals is not uncommon in a BGLS. Membership intake, formerly known as pledging(the process of trying to join a Greek letter organization), is the learning process endured by those aspiring to become members in Black Greek Letter Societies. The process has also been referred to as going "on line." During the pledge process, perspective members work closely with each other to learn specific material and complete tasks, while forming a bond among themselves. The learning is highly influenced by the particular situations learners endure and the learners themselves. Together these individuals explore, question and seek knowledge through forms of group investigation that allow them to function as a unified body of learners. Contrary to Shea's (1994) seemingly simplistic illustration of how membership is acquired, the intake process is far more than a submission of an application and an interview. The unfortunate incidents that have occurred as a result of hazing during the pledge process in some fraternities and sororities have cast a dark shadow on the learning experience in these societies. By examining the productive and meaningful aspects of joining a Black Greek Letter Society, a truthful and worthy picture may be presented. This type of research illustrates how effective the learning and group bonding experiences of haze-free pledging can really be.

All pledges must learn that they function as a whole. Everything one pledge does they must all do. Consequently, they become responsible to and for one another. Their responsibility to each other should not determine their fate, only their will and endurance. It should effect how they evaluate the situation or circumstances and approach solutions. The ultimate goal is to create individuals who can think critically and work together to better their lives and the lives of others in their communities.

Earlier, it was discussed how the process of humiliation takes place in the military. It was stated how being humbled is crucial to the success of the learning process. The same is true in Black Greek Letter organizations. No one member can feel as though he or she is better than any other member or less than another member. Each participant must adhere to a point of having their pride and perceptions about themselves and the world in which they live challenged. The end result is often a critical review and change of their view of the world and their role in the make up of society. Mezirow (1990) defines this type of learning as emancipatory and centered around social interaction.

From self-knowledge and self-reflection learners experience Mezirow's (1990) concept of perspective transformation. In a collaborative environment, learners can experience cooperation between other learners while still having the freedom for self-direction. Learners in the collaborative environment can make decisions *intellectually* about their learning. Here learning is not heavily dependent on just group behaviors or the instructor, but on the learner

and their cognitive acceptance of the other learners. This is a important aspect that separates collaborative learning from cooperative learning.

Literature suggest that cooperative learning communities are suggested to create settings that generate more motivation than individualistic, competitive environments. Members in cooperative settings are said to learn from each other, to produce social complexity and create intellectual activity, and increase positive feelings towards one another. An increase in student self-esteem and their capacity to work productively together are all said to be benefits of cooperative learning (Joyce, Weil, and Showers, 1992). Nevertheless, these characteristics are heavily based on the behaviors of others, and do not fully examined how each person individually effects the group.

Interestingly, the literature also suggests that intergrated social groups are more than a sum of their parts. The individuals in these settings share a feeling of connectedness (Joyce, Weil, and Showers, 1992). The terms collaborative and cooperative are so similar that distinguishing points of difference is somewhat difficult. However, another distinct difference is that the term collaborative expresses a joint working effort especially in an intellectual capacity. In contrast to the view that now formal instruction in a BGLS will take place after students become members, (Shea, 1994) is the lost of the collaborative "bonding" experience that can take place during the premembership probationary phase. As recently as 1993, participants during the membership intake process endured a structured learning phase. They learned a vast amount of factual information, personal characteristics about other learners as well as previous members, and critical thinking and coping strategies all why maintaining a level of humbleness and equality with the other aspiring candidates. This is more than simple cooperation between people. Therefore, the term collaborative learning gives more value to the learning processes involved during membership intake.

The Physical Learning Environment

The learning process can take place anywhere. It may occur in a classroom, the library, outdoors, or anywhere. Getting to know each member during the learning process is extremely important. This takes much shared communication. Because communication can happen at any place, at any time, and in different formats the possibilities for a particular learning environment are endless.

For some organizations there may actually be a formal test incorporated into the evaluation process. These tests may be written, unwritten or both. However, the important fact is that all members of the pledge line must master the test in whatever capacity. It is important to state here that learning does not stop at the end of the pledge process. The constant testing of various thinking and coping strategies has one overall purpose. It keeps the members alert and constantly aware of *all* aspects that influence their lives. The mind is like a muscle. The more it is exercised and challenged, the stronger it will become. As the commitment to the organization carries on throughout life, new and older members continue to learn throughout their affiliation with the organization.

Although these organizations were formed on the college campus, their existence far exceeds the boundaries of the college campus. Black Greek Letter societies have undergraduate chapters (college and university organizations) and graduate chapters (community organizations for members after leaving the college undergraduate environment). Graduate chapters provide a new arena for learning for members and a place where members can continue to serve the goals of the organizations.

Who? Why? How Long?

Lowe (1975) claims that learners give of their time and expect to learn precious information for some constructive purpose. Macklin (personal communication, October 15, 1993) supported that concept and added that it could take a pledge "several weeks or months to fully understand the concept of the pledge process." Reese (personal communication, September 30, 1993) states:

> ...Learners are free to choose whether to participate or to withdraw from the learning experience. Generally learners will be college students between the age of 8 to 25. However, membership into a Black Greek Letter society can be aspired to and attempted until the day one dies...Learners will come to know the information about the organization the founder's names and backgrounds, rules, structure, and activities...the informal learning involves self-awareness, group awareness, and the creation of a sense of brotherhood and sisterhood...Therefore it is important for any aspiring person to carefully review the values and principles of the organization and make sure those values coincide with their own value system.

Thinking and coping skills are used as new members grow and become instructors for future pledges. Once an active member, one can become an instructor. However, generally, it is necessary for a new member to experience time continuing to learn about the organization. This time allows the new member time to mature and put into perspective what being a member entails. As the member matures in the organization, they become more responsible and capable of selecting future members who will be loyal to the goals of the organization. They also become better qualified to teach future members accordingly as they were taught. Like in modern collaborative learning environments, the instructor(s) during the pledge process acts more as a facilitator for the new learners. There can and often is more than one person providing the learning experience for aspiring members. This continual process has provided almost a century of transformation of history in African American culture. As the 21st century approaches, these histories will now be recognized, both oral and written, as they are certainly worthy of inclusion in the evolution of American history.

Conclusions

Goals for membership in Black Greek Letter societies and possibly other social orders may range from simple self improvement to being a fully functional citizen in the community. There are other fraternal orders that affirm similar purposes. The first black fraternal

organization known as Prince Hall Freemasonry (the African American branch of the International Order of Free and Accepted Masons) was established to meet the desire for "self-improvement" (Muraskin, 1976). Referring back to the concept "knowledge is power" upholds Muraskin's statement that for many blacks our lack of learning was presented as the reason for our inferiority. Muraskin also suggests, "Knowledge means status and prestige as well as direct economic gain. The educated man is a gentleman, a leader of men, a responsible citizen. Ignorance means...being socially stigmatized as undesirable" (p. 235). A mastery of knowledge disproves this notion and demands recognition of our humanity. It was from this basic premise that a world of innovative strategies in learning such as oral history and storytelling, group investigation, and collaboration emerged.

Lowe (1975) believes that the main concern of adult education should be to meet needs of individuals who lacked receiving an initial education that will inevitably deny them access to further education, job satisfaction, and sufficient income. As the gap between the distribution of knowledge grew larger and larger, African Americans began to create foundations of knowledge that would allow for upward social mobility. If the plight of adult education is to reeducate those members of society who otherwise would be shut out of the possibility for upward social mobility, then it was the life circumstance of the African American in this country that laid the groundwork for that theory. Consequently, the theories pertaining to innovation and productivity from group collaborative efforts are only spinoffs of Afrocentric concepts of the power of the unified whole. The Black Greek Letter Society is a historical and present day example of this perspective at work.

Strategies using collaboration, shared humiliation, group investigation, continued education within the learning environments, and how they contribute to a more intrinsic learning experience present a major forum for further investigation. What remains fascinating about the experience is that members have their own individual learning experience while building unity. The Black Greek Letter Society does promote unity. However, the goal of the Greek Letter organization is not to make the individual loose his or her identity. Each member brings their own particular perceptions to the organization. Sometimes these perceptions are upheld by the group. At other times these views may be challenged. It is up to the individual to decide whether or not to change their views. Nevertheless, the possibility for a person to make a more critical and well-rounded decision is greater with more than only one perspective to evaluate.

Critics of these organizations claim that it is possible to serve one's community, make lasting friendships, and learn about historical events without joining a fraternity or sorority. Others may view these organizations as menial, petty, and organized vacuums that suck money from somewhat insecure individuals in need of affirmation from their peers. Those individuals who have dedicated time and effort to these organizations are aware of these accusations and denouncements. Believing in those lifelong commitments to the organization of our choice gives meaning true to our hearts. Membership in these organizations has helped persons all over the world find a common bond to one another and given them windows into new worlds of insight and information, pride and self-assurance, and love of one's brother and sister. These social organizations remember the plight of the humanitarian and the strength of the scholar. This is indeed a serious matter and we all must work hard to make things happen.

To research the secret societies for the mere sake of uncovering secrets would only shame the value of the practice. Research is far more than uncovering facts. It seeks to understand phenomena. The secrets shared in Black Greek Letter *Secret* Societies provides certain information that links the members by facts and information, but the individual is what is changed as a result of their experience. From this they gain a more in depth sense of understanding, not just the acquisition of facts. These individuals become human representations of the meaning of research and the value of learning. If the member can cognitively realize how their individual qualities contribute to the group and its purpose but does not supersede all others, then he or she has begun to understand how to critically think through their purpose in a world that is moving closer together. As we move into a more global perspective of our world, societal changes will continue to occur that will force individuals, educators, and communities to redevelop methods of educating people on how to live, learn, and work together for the benefit of the whole.

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African American Achievement Program: Culturally Grounded Academic Program for the Community College African American Adult Learner

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"The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that the race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples." Dr. Carter G. Woodson

Abstract

This paper draws attention to the fact that African American students often perform to their fullest potential academically and tend to reach their educational goals when their learning environment values their history and culture. Consequently, often the results are reflected in evidences of high self-esteem, positive performance and achievement on the parts of our African American students. In addition, when the relationships established between the instructor and his/her students reinforces and supports this kind of environment, productive learning is experienced. Thusly, instruction which embraces the ideals of such programs as the African American Achievment Program of San Francisco City College which relfect and practice culturally grounded Africentric concepts and ideas, African American students succeed in a more holistic and productive manner.

Introduction

Many of the principles that govern the development of the Afrocentric idea in education were first established by Carter G. Woodson in *The Mis-education of the Negro* (1933). Indeed, Woodson's classic reveals the fundamental problems pertaining to the education of the African person in America. As Woodson contends, African Americans have been educated away from their own culture and traditions and attached to the fringes of European culture; thus dislocated from themselves. Woodson asserts that African Americans often valorize European culture to the detriment of their own heritage. Although Woodson does not advocate rejection of American citizenship or nationality, he believed that assuming African Americans hold the same position as European Americans vis-a-Vis the realities of America would lead to the psychological and cultural death of the African American population. Furthermore, if education is ever to be substantive and meaningful within the context of American society, Woodson argues, it must first address the African's historical experiences, both in Africa and America. That is why he places on education, and particularly on the traditionally African American colleges, the burden of teaching the African American to be responsive to the long traditions and history of African as well as American. Woodson's alert recognition, more than 50 years ago,

that something is severely wrong with the way African Americans are educated provides the principal impetus for the Afrocentric approach to American education.

Henceforth, a group of African American faculty at San Francisco City College under the leadership of Elizabeth Brent-Armistead (Program Coordinator) out of the need to enhance the retention and transfer rates of African American students founded the African American Achievement Program (AAAP). According to the report from this core group of faculty, the document from the Chancellor's Office, entitled *Programs and Practices that Facilitate the Transfer of Underrepresentative Ethnic Minority Students* s states, "the transfer rate of these two groups (Blacks and Hispanics) is painfully low." Upon developing this program, it was realized that not only the teaching of basic skills, reading/critical thinking skills, composition skills, and library orientation skills was important, but that they be taught within an Africentric contextualized curriculum which would provide meaning and a sense of cultural and historical references for the African American students who need self-esteem building and self-reflection opportunities. A counseling and mentoring component were included to insure a more holistic approach to the problems and concerns which plague our student population.

Relationship Instruction

All of these students are African American Adult learners, and some of these students are educationally and economically disadvantaged -- non-traditional students who have been "given up on", and who often have been discriminated against and discouraged from obtaining a college education. As a result, the teaching component of this unique program has become the key/central link to the success experienced by the students. As a result of the research conducted to this end, it was revealed that not only were the content relevance and interdisciplinary approaches factors which contributed to the AAAP's success, but the selection of the personnel, especially the instructor(s) ranked at the top of the list. The factors which made the difference and contributed to the over-all success of the students were the interpersonal relationships established between the instructor and the student as a result of: the telephone calls and visits made by the students to the instructor's home which created a sense of community; the field trips which were designed by both the students and the instructor in an effort to expand the curriculum outside the classroom; students' invitations to their instructor to participate in activities outside the normal campus activities which extended the relationships between the students and the instructor into the "real world" of the students (i.e., church and civic activities); the private conversations the students and teacher shared during office hours as a result of a classroom assignment; and the reading of meditation/words of wisdom at the beginning of the class which were shared by both the students and their instructor in an effort to "sooth" the rough edges of a day.

According to Dr. Vanessa Sheared of San Francisco State University, "Educators in general and adult educators in particular are becoming increasingly concerned by the question: How are we to deliver course content in such a way that classroom discourse acknowledges all voices -- the multiple ways in which people interpret and reflect their understanding of the world? Multiculturalism, Africentrism, bilingualism, feminism, womanism, perspective transformation, critical consciousness, cooperative learning are just some of the methods and

theoretical constructs the adult educators have explored or are currently exploring and implementing (Colin and Preciphs, 1991; Freire, 1970; Hayes, 1989; Mezirow, 1978; Ross-Gordon, 1991). Each of these methods and constructs reflects an attempt to give voice to political, economic, and social life stories, experiences, cultures, and histories that have been excluded from the educational mainstream."

Dr. Asante asserts that an alternative framework suggests that other definitional assumptions can provide a new paradigm for the examination of education within the American society. For example, in education, *centricity* refers to a perspective that involves locating students within the context of their own cultural references so that they can relate socially and psychologically to other cultural perspectives. Centricity is a concept that can be applied to any culture. The centrist paradigm is supported by research showing that the most productive method of teaching any student is to place his or her group within the center of the context of knowledge (Asante, 1990). For White students in American this is easy because almost all the experiences discussed in American classrooms are approached from the standpoint of White perspectives and history. American education, however, is not centric; it is Eurocentric. Consequently, non-White students are also made to see themselves and their groups as the "acted upon." Only rarely do they read or hear of non-White people as active participants in history. This is as true for a discussion of the American Revolution as it is for a discussion of Dante's *Inferno*; for instance, most classroom discussions of the European slave trade concentrate on the activities of White rather than on the resistance efforts of Africans. A person educated in a truly centric fashion comes to view all groups, contributions as significant and useful. Even a White person educated in such a system does not assume superiority based upon racist notions. Thus, a truly centric education is different from a Eurocentric, racist (that is, White supremacist) education.

Dr. Asante defines Afrocentricity and views this framework of teaching as a frame of reference wherein phenomena is viewed from the perspective of the African person. The Afrocentric approach seeks in every situation the appropriate centrality of the African person (Asante, 1987). In education this means that teachers provide students the opportunity to study the world and its people, concepts, and history from an African world view. In most classrooms, whatever the subject, White are located in the center perspective position. How alien the African American child must feel, how like an outsider! The little African American child who sits in a classroom and is taught to accept as heroes and heroines individuals who defamed African people is being actively de-centered, dislocated, and made into a nonperson, one whose in in life might be to one day shed that "badge of interiority": his or her Blackness. In Afrocentric educational settings, however, teachers do not marginalize African American children by causing them to question their own self-worth because their poeple's story is seldom told. By seeing themselves as the subjects rather than the objects of education --be the discipline biology, medicine, literature, or social studies -- African American students come to see themselves not merely as seekers of knowledge but as integral participants in it. Because all content areas are adaptable to an Afrocentric approach, African American students can be made to see themselves as centered in the reality of any discipline.

As further evidence of this *relationship teaching*, the following comments were articulated by students enrolled in AAAP (These comments were made at the end of the academic year, 1994)

> Dear Mrs. Smith, I just wanted to give you a special "thank-you" for everything that you've done for me! Thank you for letting me cry on your shoulder, I appreciate it. Thank you for understanding the stress that I am under. Thank you for encouraging me to keep my head up when I was weak. Thank you for teaching me about me and my history. Thank you for opening my mind to creativity. Thank you for opening my eyes to reality. Love always, Sheree Simpson.
>
> With you, you brought style and grace. I never knew English could be so fulfilling, but it was because it was taught to me by one of the BEST! No matter where I go I will always remember you. Furthermore, have a nice summer. Cherrlynn.
>
> Thank you for the inspiration and dedication towards the class. Not many instructors care like you. Erick Simms.
>
> Hello my favorite teacher, I'll miss you but I will keep in touch always and forever. Love ya, Nicole.
>
> To a teacher that listens to everything I say in class. Thank you a lot.Grady.
>
> Well, well, well, this is it! I'm glad we had this time to share and grow. You have taught me so much (in class and out). I'm so glad that I met you. I will keep in touch. Love, Dayo.

AAAP Program Results

The AAAP staff has developed a comprehensive, innovative, counseling and instructional model which is successful in serving underrepresented and underserved African American Adult student populations and which can be easily replicated for other student groups in other colleges.

- AAAP has assisted in the transfer of 50% of students to baccalaureate institutions.
- AAAP student's grade point average is 2.75 compared to less than 2.0 when they entered the program.
- 10% of students were on the Dean's Honor list.
- AAAP has numerous requests to discuss the model for implementation from California community colleges and as well as other colleges across the nation.

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Education for Self-knowledge: Students' Self-awareness in Response to Literature by African-American Women

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Abstract:

The intent of this paper is to describe a research project that looks into students' responses to issues raised in novels by African-American women. Issues pertaining to self-knowledge provide the focus for a Freshmen Writing Seminar. Such questions bear important implications for education in contemporary American society.

Research Background

What is the significance of self-awareness in a person's life? How can awareness of one's self create a foundation of self-knowledge that could affect the quality of one's education? The basic question "Who am I?" formulates the fundamental focus of inquiry into self-knowledge. These questions on self-knowledge draw attention to crucial issues relevant to the quality of education in contemporary American society. More specifically, such questions frame the issue of how education can augment the quality of life both for society and for the individuals of whom it is composed.

Selected stories from literature dramatically portray the influence of self-awareness in the lives of individuals, and subsequently, upon a society. Toni Morrison's novel, *The Bluest Eye*, for example, offers a revealing contrast between two characters who differ sharply in terms of their awareness of themselves and the forces operating in their environment. Pecola Breedlove represents one end of the spectrum, with a severe deficit in self-awareness. In a perpetuating cycle of despair, Pecola bears the burden of being raised by parents who themselves are deprived of self-awareness. Pecola's parents, who once experienced the delicate balance of marital bliss, succumb under the weight of societal forces in a downward cycle of weighty circumstances. Unable to resist the forces of materialism, competition, exploitation, and oppression, they lose sight of their own inner purity and the sublime essence of romantic love that once inspired their marriage with the high ideals of devotion, compassion, and selfless service. In this absence of awareness of their own self-worth, the parents, and subsequently their children, Pecola and her brother, live their lives bereft of the anchorage of loving support so essential to their survival. Lacking a positive self-image from which to weather the storms of life, Pecola drifts along absorbing abuse from many directions. She seems incapable of gaining either the detachment needed to understand her oppressors, or the compassion to forgive them. Furthermore, she lacks the self-love to maintain her own inner balance to enable her to learn the difficult lessons that life presents to her. Pecola clearly depicts the consequences of living without a solid foundation of self-knowledge. She lives in a state of alienation, resulting in part from the lack of awareness of her own deeper self.

As a counter part to Pecola in Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*, Claudia MacTeer demonstrates the workings of the sublime state at the opposite end of the spectrum, with a strong, dynamic sense of self-awareness. Although she lives in the same community as Pecola, sharing exposure to the same oppressive conditions of society, Claudia manages to maintain a clear vision of her true self. Amidst the medley of positive and negative images impinging upon her from her environment, she manages to discriminate between the real and the unreal. She astutely recognizes the reality of images symbolizing lasting value, as opposed to the absence of reality, symbolized by images reflecting transitory influences that vanish with time. Claudia accepts as part of her identity a sense of connectedness, based on her mother's indirect but convincing expressions of love.

The significance of self-awareness is thoughtfully addressed by educator David Purpel. In his compelling analysis of contemporary American society, *The Moral and Spiritual Crisis in American Education*, Purpel draws attention to a sense of alienation deeply rooted in American schools. He describes alienation, in part, as ". . . feelings of anxiety, loneliness, and dread" resulting from the individual's ". . . inability to identify with natural or social forces . . ." (Purpel, p.55). In this divided state of self-alienation, devoid of awareness of one's harmonizing connections with natural and social elements, the individual fails to see the underlying unity of consciousness that exists on all levels of life. Deprived of an awareness of his own embodiment of this all-pervasive consciousness, the individual feels cut off from the surrounding ebb and flow of life.

Purpel's analysis extends the problem of the self-alienation beyond the realm of the individual's limited sense of identity to reflect the conditions of the larger society. Because of the complex nature of society, those underlying conditions emerge as contradictory forces competing for validation. Among the contradictions lies the urge towards individuality, pitted against the social need for connectedness. Society expresses this urge in customs that emphasize shared values, common struggle, and equal vision. Various holidays - such as Thanksgiving Day, Christmas, and Independence Day - celebrate cultural traditions that strengthen such bonds of unity. Yet the individual feels compelled to pursue a more egocentric direction, reflecting society's competing belief that "the individual is the basic and most important unit of decision making." (Purpel, p.31). This perspective, with its emphasis on the individual, poses a sharp contrast to a more enlightened, comprehensive perspective - one that highlights the whole, of which the individual forms an integral part. School systems reinforce this belief in the primacy of the individual by the degree to which attention is placed on parameters such as grades and test scores - all of which fuels the competitive drive towards individual attainment for material success.

The issue of alienation, felt so acutely by individuals lacking awareness of their common bond with the unity of life, is discussed by Martin in a description of *Hunger of Memory* (Rodriguez, 1982). In her article, entitled "Becoming Educated: A Journey of Alienation or Integration?", Martin highlights the poignancy of the dilemma that Rodriguez discloses in his educational autobiography. (Martin, p.71) Rodriguez grew up with a Mexican-American background in a Spanish-speaking family in Sacramento, California. Through his years of earnest striving from an early age toward academic success, Rodriguez reached a zenith of

educational attainment. Twenty years after entering first grade with a meager vocabulary of approximately 50 English words, he studied at the British Museum, earning a doctorate in English Literature. On his road to success he attained a liberal arts education at Stanford University, after having read hundreds of books and earning numerous citations during his early school years.

Although Rodriguez earned merits of distinction for his academic achievements, his success was attained at a high cost. From the time he entered first grade, his parents chose to speak English rather than Spanish in the home, to facilitate his learning at school. Consequently he lost fluency in speaking Spanish, in the process of gaining an academic education. Along with the loss of fluency in his native language, he also lost the intimacy of a warm close-knit family. From the loss of connection through language, Rodriguez also experienced loss on a deeper level. He lost interest in his Mexican roots, and he lost contact with his own feelings and his body. In forfeiting his native culture, Rodriguez sacrificed family traditions through his separation from a rich fabric of values once held dear. Eventually he suffered a sense of alienation that replaced intimacy with isolation, connectedness with distance. He lost a sense of himself as his focal point to the life that surrounded him.

The foregoing discussion offers insights that highlight revealing patterns of similarity. From this broad range of information, the message for educators rings loud and clear: Knowledge without self-knowledge is empty. In Morrison's story of Pecola, the loss of connectedness resulting from a lack of self-knowledge leads to alienation that disrupts coherence and nullifies the learning process. Lack of self-awareness obscures the interrelatedness of life, creating a detrimental effect on education. From Purpel's analysis, the inability to identify with forces beyond one's individual self leads to isolation that causes a crippling effect of anxiety, loneliness, and dread. Education under such conditions creates an aura of non-relevance that leaves the individual in a debilitating state of boredom. From the autobiographical account of Rodriguez, "Hunger of Memory" relates the well-intended but misguided efforts towards high academic achievement, stripped of its context of meaning. The resulting isolation leads to a condition of self-alienation, which bears a heavy price to pay for even the finest education.

All of the above scenarios bear a striking resemblance. They foretell of severe consequences that await the loss of awareness of one's surrounding connections. Within the arena of education, the stories convey the emptiness of the meaning of an education that is not grounded in self-knowledge. On the other hand, Morrison's character Claudia portrays a viable alternative as she holds on to life by a thread, sustained by love that feeds her sense of self-awareness. In the process, she acts upon her intuitions with spontaneity and courage that derives from reflecting upon her self as the integrated center of her worldview. Rather than living in isolation, she maintains an awareness of her self as a radiating center, since "[o]ur limitations were not known to us - not then". (Morrison, p.149) In company with her sister Frieda, she invests her actions with faith as they symbolically attempt to sustain life through the planting of seeds. In spite of well-meaning but unsuccessful efforts to save a life, she exhibits the vitality of a mind nourished by knowledge of a self-identity extending beyond the individual self. In the process, she uses her mind as an illuminating force to guide her way through life's experiences.

She demonstrates the paradigm signaled by the words of Socrates, "Know thyself, and to thine own self be true."

Research Purpose

The preceding discussion has been set forth to lay the groundwork for this research project on "Education for Self-Knowledge". The purpose of this project is to illuminate ways of augmenting classroom practices to more effectively serve the needs of society. In response to society's needs, the field of Education has accumulated substantial theories in its storehouse of knowledge. Yet, without adequate knowledge of students' experiences in the light of theory, society's needs may remain unmet. This research, then, seeks to narrow the gap between theory and practice by highlighting the significance of education theory to students' experience. Ultimately, the project seeks to weigh the merits of education theory through assessment by the experiences of students. The theory in question pertains to transformative learning theory elucidated by J. Mezirow.

Among ways for students to gain access to their world of experience, self-reflection offers a promising approach. Through a process of reflection and detachment, students can tap into their own ways of knowing to provide vital information for themselves and to the field of Education. From the interplay of education theory with the responses of students reflecting upon their own world of experience, valuable insights can be gained to assist educators in developing in students the fundamental tool of self-awareness as a foundation for learning. This research project, therefore, serves the purpose of showing how students' experiences relate to a theory and practice designed to develop their self-awareness in relation to the needs of society for a more ethical foundation.

Research Context and Methodology

The research context for this project is the classroom of a Freshmen Writing Seminar at Cornell University. The Seminar, based on novels by five African-American women writers, includes the following: Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*; Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God*; Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*; Toni Morrison's *Beloved*; and Maya Angelou's *I Know Why The Caged Bird Sings*. The novels richly provide the stimulus for students to develop writing skills by writing essays in response to class discussions pertaining to the literature.

Besides developing writing skills, the purpose of the course is for students to expand their understanding of literary themes and the significance of those themes not only to society, but to the personal lives of the students as well. In the classroom, students engage in oral and written dialogue for the purpose of communicating ideas, expanding self-awareness, and creating new knowledge based on their growing understanding.

Furthermore, the course seeks to provide an opportunity for students to understand the literature in the light of diverse religious and philosophical traditions. These traditions are expressed in the Judeo-Christian ethic, the literature of American Transcendentalists, and

philosophies of ancient India, such as Kashmir Shaivism. Through themes and issues raised in the novels, students gain access to relevant knowledge from timeless traditions. By concurrently studying relevant philosophical teachings, students gain sensitivity to concepts embedded in those traditions which seek to understand the deeper meanings of human conduct.

The process of reflection plays a significant role for both the course and the research. For five minutes of silence at the beginning of each class, students are encouraged to reflect inward to concentrate upon the experience of a deeper sense of themselves through detachment from thoughts, feelings, and concerns of the past or future. They are encouraged to identify with images reflecting the underlying unity and perfection of life. Certain images, such as the sensation of the breath, help to awaken an awareness of an inner presence that is believed to be shared throughout creation. In relation to the course, the process of reflecting allows students to open up to new insights and intuitions that may emerge from the readings and from their own experience. In relation to the research, the process opens new avenues to ascertain the meaning of students' growing awareness. With students' consent, data for the research is collected in the form of interviews, essays, and journals. Additional data consists of observations of classroom interactions, and documents such as the course syllabus, class exercises and assignments, and selected reading materials.

The methodology for this study falls within the category of naturalistic, qualitative inquiry. The natural setting of the classroom learning environment serves as the focus for the research project. Rather than drawing research information from surveys and questionaires, data is generated from actual classroom learning experiences, such as communal, oral reading of passages from philosophical texts; dialogue; self-reflection; and the writing process. The qualitative nature of the study is revealed by the descriptive format of the data. Instead of the succinct facts and figures of a quantitative study, the data takes the form of thick, narrative descriptions that reflect the nuances of the students' experiential world.

Analyzing the data is to follow the form of content analysis and inductive analysis. For content analysis, the data is to be analyzed to identify insights that shed light on transformative learning theory. Inductive analyses will follow to ascertain particular insights from the students' experiences. Additional data will be derived from an analysis of transformative experiences of the literary characters through student essays, journals, and interviews.

This research relates to ethical and religious values in the field of education as reflected in literature. As part of the avant garde that seeks to restore reflectivity in learning, progressive educators will be able to draw upon experiences of both students and literary characters to assess the value of theory. Following the eras of rationalism and behaviorism, this new approach to education, seeks to revitalize the learning process with the natural elements of the human experience, such as contemplation. The contribution to the field will be the new light shed upon learning theory - theory revitalized with knowledge created through the insights of learners reflecting upon their own experiences. Such theory holds great promise for serving the mission of education - to produce learners capable of serving society through their own enhanced self-awareness. With the fundamental key of self-awareness, tempered with acceptance and understanding, students could be educated to become self-directed learners, capable of moving

society to new levels of ethical conduct. Through wisdom gained from self-inquiry and reflection, individuals could be educated to produce a society with a code of ethics based on justice, compassion, and equal vision.

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The Black Church: A Model of Africentric Adult Education and Leadership Development for Personal and Community Empowerment

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Typically, adult educators have excluded or marginalized the adult education activities of African Americans. Studies are constantly reporting that African Americans have a lower adult education participation rate than whites and that their participation decreases among low-income, less educated African Americans. The inference is that African Americans are not interested and do not participate in adult education actitivities. The impression generated is that African Americans do not value or desire education. (Briscoe and Ross, 1989)

The curriculum of most formal adult education programs rarely include African American adult educators and their contributions in class readings or discussions. Most adult education programs have very few African American students and they have even fewer, if any, African American faculty. This is a curious and disturbing situation, since adult education posits itself as a more "liberal," "nontraditional," and "learner-centered" segment of America's larger educational system. If the African American presence is not visible among "liberal" adult educators, what can be expected of the more traditional educational programs?

The adult education picture and history which I was exposed to in my classes was not in line with my own intuitive and personal experiences. Out of concern, I sought to find a ways to adjust the field's misrepresentation of the African American's participation in and perceived value of adult eduation.

As an African American, I understand why African Americans have not rushed to take classes offered by Anglo-controlled adult education programs. These programs do not meet the survival and cultural education needs of African Americans. Also, for me, the question was not, "Why don't more African Americans participate in adult education?" Instead, my question was, "Why don't researchers see and document the adult education activities of African Americans? How is it that adult educators can discuss the history of adult education in America without talking about one of the most influential adult education institutions in the African American community--the black church? Why is information about the black church, the largest and most enduring adult education institution, one which has historically shaped the educational development of both Anglo and African Americans, not routinely been included in adult education research literature, curriculum, or discussions?

Ross-Gordon and others have documented the paucity of adult education articles in written about African Americans or other non-white populations. (Ross-Gordon, 1991; Briscoe and Ross, 1989; Smith, 1993) Most of the literature which does exist on the black church is generally not classified as "adult education." Instead, information about the black church can be found under listings such as "sociological studies, religious, American-American history, political, or general education." Under the auspices of these disciplines, much as been written about the black church, its origin, its role in fighting for social justice, its doctrine, its development, and other spiritual and social aspects.

Having asked the question "Why?", my next question was "Who," as in "Who will bell the cat? Who will take the lead to add to and change the nature of the adult education literature research database so that it includes and gives appropriate prominence to the role of the black church. Who will document the tremendous educational scope and impact of the black church on the lives of African Americans and, indeed, all Americans. Who will record the actual participation of African Americans in adult education activities? (Colin, 1989)

I quickly discovered that the answer was "me." I decided to begin to try to adjust and correct this inaccurate picture of African American participation by doing an historical analysis of the role of the black church as an adult education institution. My particular focus will be on how the black church educates its members to become leaders in all areas of life. In order to understand the black church's use and development of an Africentric educational perspective, one must look at America's history in providing educational opportunities for African Americans.

African American education in mainstream America

The adult education offered by Anglo Americans has been a hegemonic one which has sought to teach African Americans to "stay in their place" and to remain submissive. It has also reinforced racial stereotypes such as the "God-given" right of Anglo Americans to govern and to lead African descent people worldwide.

The education of African Americans, as provided by predominately white mainstream educational institutions has ranged, over time, from being nonexistent to "separate and unequal" to "integrated" but extremely psychologically stressful and damaging. For many African Americans education has been provided by institutions which have hesistantly admitted them. Once admitted, they have been treated with the attitude that "You (African Americans) should be happy to be in our company and to receive the opportunity to learn the Eurocentric history which we will present to you." This history is presented to African Americans using undercurrent or overt racist attitudes, materials, and environments to reinforce the African American's feelings of discomfort, inadequacy, and alienation.

The absence of African American role models in key faculty and administrative decision-making positions further reinforces the psychological message that "leadership" is not a role that African Americans should prepare for or aspire to achieve. The histories and materials presented do not include the contributions of African Americans and thus leave the impression that they have done nothing. Additional stress is placed on African Americans because they bear the burden of extending themselves to reach a student or faculty population which places no real value on interaction with them. These educational environments are oppressive to African Americans and anti-Africentric in their purpose, structure, content, and delivery. They are not self- or culturally-affirming environments for African Americans.

Adult educators have virtually ignored the contributions of African Americans such as Fredrick Douglass, Carter G. Woodson, W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, Alain Locke, Nannie Buroughs, Ida B. Wells, Mary McCleod Bethune, Paul Robeson, Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X. Their contributions to adult education should be as much a part of the

required reading of adult educators in training or doctoral programs as Malcolm Knowles, the Highlander School, B F. Skinner, Carl Rogers, Cyril Houle, Jane Addams, John Dewey, and Eduard Lindeman. For they have contributed to the education of all Americans.

Historically, African Americans have been forbidden, separated, excluded, and marginalized by "whites only" legal and de facto educational policies. This has caused African Americans to develop a tradition of providing their own counter-hegemonic education through the black church. It is the black church which has provided literacy programs, spiritual education, money for black schools, cultural affirmation, opportunities for leadership development and self-esteem building, mentoring, social support, economic independence, and dedicated race servants and civil rights leaders. Martin Luther King Jr., Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and Jesse Jackson, all ministers, are just a few of the many leaders who have been trained in the black church adult education tradition and have risen to become national leaders in the spiritual and social arenas. Their leadership has been grounded in their concern for their race, but their interactions and concerns as leaders have been broader and more inclusive.

Given this premise, a study of the adult educational history of African Americans as reflected by the black church is instructive for white and black adult educators. It is valuable because it provides the historical and socio-political context of the African American's educational needs, pursuits, and goals. Such an analysis also adds insight and perspective to the nature and history of the mainstream adult education's approach toward providing programs for Anglo, African Americans, and other racial groups.

The Black Church: its history and leadership development role

The mission of the black church and its adult education work has a decidely Africentric focus, although the emphasis of this focus varies from church to church, and denomination to denomination. Lincoln and Mamiya define the black church as "those independent, historic, and totally black-controlled denominatons, which were founded after the Free African Society of 1787." They state that the "black church" category consists of Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal denominations which together account for more than 80 percent of the African American Christian population. The black church is characterized by the fact that, regardless of denominational affiliation, its African American members are bound together in the struggle for equality, freedom, and the God-given right to be treated with the respect (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Paris, 1985).

The common theme of racial and social justice for African Americans is the core of the black church's educational mission and is its raison d'etre. However, tensions still exist within the black church regarding issues such as the roles of women and men, especially in terms of who may enter the pulpit; the role of "evangelism" and "politics" in the church; and how much emphasis should be placed on the "here and now" versus the "hereafter" (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990).

It is generally agreed among black church scholars that the birth of the black church was a sociological phenonmenon resulting from the existence of a public policy which supported economic oppression and separatism based on race. Situated in a society which excludes, marginalizes, or ignores African Americans and their numerous contributions to American society, the black church

has been a stronghold of dignity and independence for the African American community. Given this mission and genesis, it is inevitable that the black church has become a very symbolic and actual rallying point for African Americans as they continue to struggle for racial and economic equality (Paris, 1985; Frazier and Lincoln, 1974; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990). Traditionally, even the white church has denied the right of full and equal participation to African Americans. While preaching a gospel of inclusiveness, "We are all God's children, "the white church has practiced exclusiveness and made African Americans feel more like stepchildren or orphans. The inconsistencies of white church doctrine and practice made white church leadership, religion, and congregations undesirable to African Americans. The result was a move in the 1860s and 1870s by African Americans nationwide to leave white congregations and national church organizations to establish their own African American led churches and associations. They made this move so that they could control and plan for their own spiritual, emotional, and intellectual growth. The existence of First and Second Baptist churches nationwide represents an obvious example of racial segregation in the church world. In most cases, the "Second Baptist" church represents a predominately African American congregation which at one point separated from the First Baptist church due to racial mistreatment. (Fitts, 1985)

The black church development represented the African American's drive for self-determination and social equality. The message was loud and clear, African Americans would rather separate than to be treated unfairly; to be taxed without representation. The actions of African Americans was a declaration that African Americans would prefer separation with dignity instead of the superficiality of physical proximity and blatant disrepect. Although forced to endure institutional and individual racism in everyday life, African Americans refused to accept disrespect in church. The church was the one institution where their participation was voluntary and within the realm of their control. It was in the black church that African Americans found a place where they could freely and fully participate. They could select their own leaders and plan activities and agendas that would meet their own spiritual and social needs. The black church became the most comprehensive and consistent social and educational agency in the lives of African Americans. (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1989; Fitts, 1985; Frazier and Lincoln, 1974)

Controlled by African Americans and supported by the loyalty of its members, the black church has also been the central agency through which social change for African Americans has been initiated, nutured, and effected. This has been accomplished by the black church's initiation of educational programs or socio-political movements, by coalition building with individuals or groups, and by its development of moral leaders who are compelled and committed to take the lead in fighting social injustice. It is this rich and and enduring history that makes an analysis of the black church and its leadership pivotal in understanding the African American culture, and African American educational and employment needs (Paris, 1985; Milsap, 1992).

Adult education definition and context

Within the context of the black church, the broadest definition of adult education that is most appropriate for my research, is that adult education's purpose is prepare individuals for responsible citizenship by contributing holistically to their personal growth, which in turn, enables them to contribute more fully to the development of a more democratic society. Courtney describes it best, when he says that adult education is a "progressive movement towards the solution of problems and

the development of abilities to encounter similar future problems with greater competencies" (Courtney, 1990, p. 17) He adds that in the process of adult education, the adult educator "intervenes" into the life of adult learners in such a way as to prepare them for whatever specific or life skills are needed. (Courtney, 1990, p. 24) Wheeler affirms the role of the black church as an adult education provider whose role is to "intervene" and to "prepare" the learner with necessary life skills:

> Between 1865 and 1902 it (the black church) was often the only institution black people controlled. The church served as the social, educational, cultural, political, and religious center in the black community . . . it served as the focus for the uplift of the race." (Wheeler, 1982, p. 30)

Wheeler, Paris, and others credit the black church for its role in preparing African Americans to live within a racist society, while simultaneously equipping them to fight for changes in the socio-economic system that governs their reality. While some researchers have accused the black church of being too "accommodating" or too "liberating" in its focus, Wheeler says that the mission of the black church includes both. Ministers have the task of teaching African Americans to reconcile the contradictions of life. He says the black church teaches its members to balance the need to "accommodate" to current situations of oppression, while continually teaching them to reach forward to capture the "possibilities" which lie within themselves as they fight for individual and group liberation. (Wheeler, 1982)

Paris (1985) reveals this struggle in his discussion of Du Bois's reference to the double consciousness of African Americans. Paris says that African Americans are constantly trying to find a balance between their dual identities, that of being Americans and African. He says that the struggle for African Americans exists because they are constantly being told that they must choose between their ethnic heritage and their national allegiance to America. Paris notes that African Americans have been traditionally loyal to both their country and their race. He also reveals that the desire of African Americans is not to be separated or exiled from America but to be accepted, respected, and fully included (Paris, 1985).

> The black church has been one of the few institutions which have consistently acknowledged the African American's struggle with racism. It has provided a comprehensive range of adult education activities which have spiritually and psychologically equipped African Americans with an awareness that they have the power of God within them to overcome society's externally imposed restrictions. The black church has promoted an educational agenda that has enabled African Americans to build a strong self-concept and empowered them to achieve.

Cone, Freire, and Black Church Educational Philosophy

In 1969, James Cone wrote a well-known exposition on black theology which validated the African American's reinterpretation of Christianity. Cone gave credence to the role of the black church in the struggle against racial injustice. His views were written during a time when black

power advocates where considered a threat by some mainstream civil rights leaders. Many mainstream theologians sought to "objectively" interpret Christianity in such as way as to say that good Christians would not be aligned with such "militant," impatient black power advocates such as Stokely Carmichael. They suggested that it would be better to instead, wait, for redemption. (Cone, 1969)

Cone saw an inseparable connection between the African American's view of God (and self) and the African American's perspective and role in their struggle for equality here on earth. He clarified the African American's "practiced" theology, or view of God, by setting forth a treatise on the nature of black theology. He declared that the African American's worldview demanded respect for God, self, and others.

Cone noted that the African American's God is a deliverer and a supernatural source of strength and courage. He rejected attempts to separate Christianity and God from the struggle of African Americans to achieve equality. Cone says emphatically that "The goal of black theology is to prepare the mind of blacks for freedom so that they will be ready to give all for it. Black theology must speak "to" and "for" black people as they seek to remove structures of white power which hover over their being, stripping it of its Blackness." (Cone, 1969, p. 118)

Cone's black theology is grounded in and interpreted by the experiences of African Americans struggling to achieve wholeness or dignity in a society that constantly tries to tell them that they are not worthy of respect. While Cone's work is known in theological circles for its role in stating and affirming the right of African Americans to see and interpret God in light of their own experiences, it is more a philosophy of practice rather than a basis for action. However, when the philosophy of black theology is combined with Freire's theory of conscientization and adult education for social action, it gains wings and becomes liberation theology.

Freire defines his method of preparing an oppressed people psychologically to fight oppression as "conscientization." Conscientization is defined as the "process in which (persons), not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality." (Freire, 1970, p. 452)

By using the process of conscientization black church seeks to expose, demystify, and deconstruct the "lies" which African Americans have internalized about themselves, their history, their people, and their roles in the world. It is only once a person becomes "aware" and believes that what he or she is hearing is the "truth" that one's concept of reality or power changes.

Freire proposes "conscientization" as a way of helping oppressed people see, name, interpret, and change their social reality. For Freire true awareness of one's humanity and oppressive condition are educational keys which motivate, and indeed compel, individuals to take action. It is the not knowing, the fear of knowing, or the fear of having to act upon what one knows that keeps both oppressor and the oppressed in a state of denial; with knowledge comes a responsibility to act (Freire, 1970).

Thus, the role of the black church has been and continues to be one of validating the African American's pain and struggle in a society which objectifies and demeans the African American's self-worth. It is the repeated verbal validation and communal sharing which informs the African American of the fact that he or she is not alone in the struggle and that one's feelings of discomfort are real. Cone says that it is the act of "fighting back" which validates one's sense of self. (Cone, 1969)

But the teaching of the black church is not just one of pointing out pain of African Americans. The black church has a mandate to go beyond consciousness to personal and community transformation. (Riggins, 1972) This is done by planting and watering the spiritual seeds of positive self-regard, spiritual and ethnic heritage, communal responsibility, and interconnectedness with God. Wheeler describes this process as racial "uplift.". It is the practice of teaching and showing African Americans that not only are they capable of leadership, but that they are called to be leaders. Wheeler documents the practice of "uplift" and the doctrine of "possibility" through his account of the lives of black ministers from various denominations, including several predominately white denominations. He notes that the multi-faceted talents of the ministers themselves, intellectually, spiritually, economically, and politically proved to be a valuable role model and teaching tool for their respective congregations.

> The ministerial elite, then, were both acommodationists and architects of possibility. And Elijah Marrs managed to embody both sides of that ministerial dialectic. Interweaving a deep religious commitment and an intense commitment to education with a keen interest in politics, he exemplified a pattern of clerical activity that marked the black churches throughout the South. (Wheeler, 1982, p. 21)

Beatty and Robbins (1990) note that the church, any church, plays a major sociological role. It provides a sense of meaning and a frame of reference from which individuals can establish a sense of identity or purpose in life. It is this sense of identity, of community, and of mission which prepares adult participants to ably direct their lives and to contribute positively to their families and communities.

> Where the church's educational program helps people affirm themselves as part of a religious tradition, a concept of self-worth and a concept of self in relations to others emerges. Each religious tradition fosters a sense of belonging and a sense of importance of each individual. This community and the diverse talents of its members are then placed at the service of others . . . Through this process, volunteers were personally able to affirm new and emergent talents . . . the church's educational program helps people accomplish the developmental tasks of human growth and maturation, it assists them in realizing their fullest potential. (Beatty and Robbins, 1990, p. 34)

They further summarize their views by adding that "The church, as educator, serves as an agent of transformation for the individual, group, and society-at-large . . . It must speak to the issues,

concerns, and aspirations of the surrounding community and its institutions." (Beatty and Robbins, 1990, p. 35).

Research Methodology

Although my research is at the proposal stage, I am planning to explore the black church role in leadership development by conducting a historical case study of Second Baptist Church, the oldest black church in Evanston, Illinois, a northern suburb located just outside of Chicago. Second Baptist Church was founded in 1871, when African Americans left First Baptist Church due to racism and unfair treatment. Second Baptist Church has a tradition of providing spiritual and social leadership. Many of the Second Baptist's members have graduated to positions of local, state, and national prominence in both the spiritual and social arena. Some examples include Dr. Loraine Morton, a deacon at Second Baptist Church, who recently became the first African American mayor of Evanston; Rev. Brenda Little, pastor of Bethany Baptist Church, a pioneering African American female minister; Dr. Walter Fulker, a former minister-in-training, currently, Martin Luther King Professor at Colgate in Rochester NY; and Dr. Hycel B. Taylor, senior pastor, who served as the National President of Operation PUSH in Rev. Jesse Jackson's absence during his presidential campaign.

My purpose will be to look at the nature and effectiveness of the black church's efforts to prepare individuals for spiritual and social leadership. My principal question will be, "How does Second Baptist, a black church, use adult education to develop African American leaders who are equipped to promote individual and community renewal and social change?

My research will address both the spiritual and social educational needs of African Americans and the techniques that Second Baptist Church uses to educate African Americans to effectively operate as leaders in the spiritual and social arenas of society.

I will look at the nature of leadership at Second Baptist Church, both lay and ordained, its historical and current role in the community, and how its informal and formal educational activities prepare African Americans for personal and collective leadership both in the church and in society at-large.

It is the development of cultural or ethnic educational programs which seeks to override racially oppressive boundaries and move individuals to personal and collective wholeness. For the African American, this has been the role of adult education in the Black Church, a place where men and women, poor and middle class, could work together in defiance of the larger society.

Data for my research will be gathered through: 1) a review of historical church documents, 2) interviews with key church leaders such as the senior pastor, the director of the church's formal leadership and Christian education training programs, the church historian, current and past members, and key civic and religious leaders in the Evanston community, 3) my personal observation of church services, meetings, and educational activities, 4) personal reflections from my experiences as a member and leader at Second Baptist Church, and 5) a review of literature on the role of black church and its leaders as it relates to leadership development and social change.

By adult education activities, I am referring to both the formal and informal educational activities which routinely take place in the black church. The formal teaching activities include the Sunday morning sermon, Sunday and Weekly Bible classes, seminars on various religious, career, or family issues, and other activities which contain a structured and planned instructional format and educational outcome.

The informal educational component involves learning by doing or on-the-job leadership training as revealed within the context of individual service to the local church. Persons who participate in the life of the church as deacons, trustees, club presidents, program speakers, program chairpersons, youth leaders, and countless other areas learn how to be leaders by executing the responsibilities which they are given. In most cases, these leaders learn-by-doing. Participants in informal learning situations are often unware of the learning which is actually taking place.

I expect to document the nature, effectiveness, purpose, and direction of the informal and formal leadership development activities of Second Baptist Church. This information can be used to help black churches improve their development and evaluation of the leadership development components of their adult educational programs and ministries. In addition to assisting the local church, insights from my research can be incorporated in pastoral and Christian education training programs at seminaries, African American adult education programs, African American student centers, or academic and support programs at colleges and universities which wish to make their programs more inclusive and "multiculturally" affirming.

My goal is to add a deeper, more reflexive perspective for critiquing adult education programs provided for African Americans. This has implications for both individual and societal development. My hope is to provide data that would begin to develop a model for adult education for Anglo and African Americans that would change worldviews, attitudes, and actions.

Principal Research Question:

How does Second Baptist, a black church, use adult education to develop African American leaders who are equipped to promote individual and community renewal and social change?

Additional questions will include:

1. What is the educational purpose, philosophy, and goal of Second Baptist church? Is its mission to prepare members for separatism, integration, or something else?

2. How does its educational philosophy and plan for leadership development compare with Freire's theory of conscientization?

3. How does the Second Baptist prepare its African American members to live successfully in a racist society? Are members taught to accommodate, liberate, or both?

4. What are the adult education elements or activities which Second Baptist provides (Bible classes, seminars, programs, sermons, political activism, community service, leadership opportunities, etc.)?

5. How does the Second Baptist share and make its educational mission and goals known to its congregants?

6. How does Second Baptist develop an Africentric curriculum for adults which provides its members with the cultural affirmation, spiritual strength, appreciation for education, and sense of personal and community responsibility which they need to become moral and social leaders?

7. How does Second Baptist's activities compare with the historical adult education role of the black church?

8. What is the impact of "leaders" from Second Baptist on the internal church community and the surrounding neighborhood or world community?

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The Higher and Professional Education of African Americans Prior to 1865: Some Implications for Adult Education

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It was not until the second half of the 20th century that educators in institutions of higher learning began to look upon, with scrutiny, the diversity and differences among the student population they served. In the aftermath of the passage of the G. I. Bill such educators recognized that there was a "non-traditional" population of students that brought with them new challenges and new opportunities to which colleges accommodated in educating an older more mature student population. The term "non-traditional" was coined in the wake of this dramatic shift in the traditional student demographics. What is often not recognized, however, is that so-called "non-tradition" students have in fact comprised a significant portion of the student body population in colleges and universities for a long time but they were not so labeled and identified. This paper seeks to offer an illustration of this observation by using a population African American students who, in a far distant past, struggled to educate themselves at a time most African Americans were in the tight grip of slavery. There existed along side the system of slavery a so-called "anomalous population" of free Blacks, mostly concentrated in urban northern communities. As early as the 1830s, for example, there were 1, 875 free Blacks living in Boston; 14,083 in New York City; 9, 796 in Philadelphia; 14, 790 in Baltimore; 2, 106 in Charleston, S. C. and; 11, 906 in New Orleans (1). From this population a surprisingly significant number received college and university training in medicine, dentistry, law, education, and theology. However, whatever formal education they received was obtained under an uncommonly highly level of psychological duress and at considerable personal risk.

Whether considered as isolated, long neglected, or historically mute personal narratives or whether one considers these narratives as a collective and coherent body of historical material, African American higher and professional education, as an area of study, has been seriously underdeveloped. Perhaps, in a small way, what follows in this brief treatment is a partial corrective to this over sight. I shall first give a brief overview of the historical conditions and issues from which African American higher and professional education derived. I will conclude by sharing the narratives of two people whose personal biographies are compelling yet not untypical of the experiences many of these individuals encountered seeking an education in a society seemingly determined to deny it to them.

Conceptual-Historical Framework

Opportunity for African Americans to obtain a modicum of higher education prior to 1865 emerged principally out of two conflicting racial ideologies. As these competing ideologies ripened they progressively crystallized into full fledged socio-political movements by the second decade of the 19th century. These competing ideological positions represented opposing conceptions on, first, the institution of slavery and, secondly, on the "place" free Blacks should occupy in the American social system. The root sentiment of these two

movements extend back to the initial introduction of Africans into America's political economic structure. With the formation of "The American Society for the Colonizing of Free People of Colour of the United States," hereafter referred to as The American Colonization Society, the first blow was struck in 1816 by the establishment of an organization to carry out its expressed objectives. This organization's expressed objective was cogently stated in the second article of its constitution, "The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object in co-operation with the general government, and such of the states as may adopt regulations upon the subject" (2).

The interests of the American Colonization Society in the education of African Americans was predicated on their larger colonization agenda. To execute its scheme the members of this organization, which included the ordinated efforts of various state and local colonization auxiliaries, envisioned that first it would be necessary to train free Blacks in realms of knowledge essential to leadership in their African colony. They were particularly interested in the education of physicians, clergymen, teachers, and lawyers in virtually that order. This professionally trained cadre, they envisioned, would be the intellectual and moral backbone of the new colony. Following Wintrop Jordon and Ira Berlin, I shall designate what the American Colonization Society represented as a movement was toward the ascendance a "White Man's America" ideology (3).

The counter movement to the African Colonization Movement galvanized around sentiments expressed by various abolitionists working through their moribund and highly fractured antislavery organizations. Expressions of abolitionist sentiment, as Adams indicates, date to 1619 the year Africans were first introduced to America. The character and nature of antislavery activity did not dramatically change until it was forced to confront the inveterate colonizationist. The prospect of the wholesale deportation of free Blacks ignited the most active and celebrated phase of the antislavery movement. This was the period of the domination of such abolitionists as Beriah Green, Robert Purvis, Absolom Jones, William Lloyd Garrison, Benjamin Lundy, Gerrit Smith and Lewis and Arthur Tappan to name a few.

The American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1833, nearly twenty years after the formation of the American Colonization Society. The expressed objective of this organization likewise is contained in the second article of its constitution, "The Objects of this Society are the entire abolition of slavery in the United States...it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slave-holding is a heinous crime in the sight of God and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation" (4).

Securing the means for moral, religious, and intellectual elevation of free Blacks were a critical aspect of the objectives of the Abolitionist Movement. Anti-Slavery newspapers boldly informed their readers where educational opportunities were available to Blacks. The essential thrust of those committed to the principles and promises of American democracy was to provide the means for social and educational up-lift, this was to be accomplished through education at

any level and, where possible, higher learning. I shall designate the position of the Anti-Slavery Movement as one which advanced the position of a "Bi-Racial America" ideology. The subjects of this study are the fruits and products of the educational strategy each side employed to affect its respective objectives.

Subjects of the Study, N=220

Approximately 220 individuals (N value varies) have be identified as recipients of collegiate or other forms of higher learning within the designated time period. The subject breakdown by gender is 179 males and 39 females or 81% versus 19% (N=218). One hundred thirty-eight (138) of the subjects were educated under the sponsorship (e.g., network system of direct or indirect financial support, information sharing, providing housing accommodation, etc.) of abolitionists. Thirty-six (36) of the subjects' education came under the general sponsorship of the African colonization movement. Twenty-one of the subject's education was not related to either movements (N=193). The undergraduate education breakdown is: 34 of the subjects received equivalent of one year of collegiate education; 20 received two years of college education; 6 received three years of college education and seventy-four or 55% of the subjects received four years of college education.

A description of the subjects by year of birth reveals the following. The earliest date of birth of the subjects was 1753 (Lemuel Haynes) and the most recent date of birth of the subjects was 1848 (William Powell). Assuming a generation is twenty-five years, the subjects constitute nearly four generations of individuals. Nine of the subjects were born in the 18th century. Sixty-eight (68) were born between 1800 and 1825 while 72 of the subjects were born between 1826 and 1848, (N=149).

Sources Of Subjects

These individuals were identified through a variety of historical sources. The collective written histories of Martin Delany, George Washington William, Carter G. Woodson, and W. E. B DuBois accounted for the largest portion of the names of the subjects. The recent publication of the Black Abolitionist Papers by C. Peter Ripley also was most valuable in rendering additional subjects. I consulted both antislavery and colonization newspapers of the era such as "Freedom's Journal," "The Colored American," "The Liberator," "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," The Emancipator" and "Philanthropist" The principle colonization publication consulted was the "African Repository and Colonial Journal", the official organ of the American Colonization Society, "The Niles Registry," and "The National Intelligencer." Once the subjects were identified corroboration of their college or school of attendance was independently sought. This was done through college or professional school records. If the college or professional school was defunct the repository of their records were used to verify attendance.

I define higher and professional education following Robinson: "as any formal education or training beyond the secondary school level. This training may be derived from any duly established academy, college, institute or normal school. Professional educational training in law, theology, medicine and dentistry is designated as those forms of training derived from duly

constituted facilities, institutions, or individuals who warrant or certify by legal documentation that such individuals under their charge have satisfactorily or successfully mastered a body of knowledge or information deemed appropriate for their respective field of practice or study. The following is a summary of the demographic characteristics of the subject population.

Types of Degrees

B.A.	M.A.	Law	Medical	Dental	Divinity
71	9	21	46	5	47

N= 199

Table I

Birth Place of Subjects By Region

Northeastern	64
Middle Atlantic	67
Mid-Western	8
Southeast	26
South	9
West Indies	6
Africa	7
Unknown	19
Total=	206

Table II

Black Graduates by Decade and College

	Names	Colleges
1820-1829	Alexander Twilight	Middlebury College
	Edward Jones	Amherst College
	John B. Russwurm	Bowdoin College
	John Newton Templeton	Ohio University
	Edward Mitchell	Dartmouth College
	Benjamin R. Skinner	Jefferson College
1830-1839	Isiash DeGrasse	Newark College,
	James McCune Smith	Univ. of Glasgow
	John Fayette	Western Reserve College
	Benjamin F. Templeton	Hanover College
	Alexander Crummell	Oneida Institute
	Henry H. Garnett	Oneida Institute
	Samuel R. Ward	Oneida Institute
1840-1849	Elymus Rogers	Oneida Institute
	Thomas Paul, Jr	Dartmouth
	Titus Basfield	Franklin College
	William G. Allen	Oneida Institute
	David McDonogh	Lafayette College
	George B Vashon	Oberlin College
	Justin Holland	Oberlin College
	William Whitehorn	Oberlin College
	William H. Day	Oberlin College
	Martin Freeman	Middlebury College

	James M. Jones	Oberlin College
	James Barnett	New York University
	Thomas Durnsford	Lafayette College
	John M. Langston	Oberlin College
1850-1859	Hugh Healy	College of the Holy Cross
	Patrick Healy	College of the Holy Cross
	Grace A. Mapps	New York Central College
	Garrison Draper	Dartmouth
	James Healy	College of the Holy Cross
	Lawrence Minor	Oberlin College
	James Barnett	New York University
	Jonathan Gibbs	Dartmouth College
	Joseph C. Corbin	Ohio University
	Henry Simpson	Colgate College
	Garrison Draper	Dartmouth College
	Sarah Woodson	Oberlin College
	John Craven Jones	Oberlin College
	Thomas Chester	Avery College
	Sherwood Healy	Appollonio College
	John G. Mitchell	Oberlin College
	Robert Elliott	Eton College
	Benjamin K. Sampson	New York Central College
	Robert Elliott	Eton College
	Elias T. Jones	Oberlin College
	William A. Jones	Oberlin College
	John B. Reeve	New York Central College
	Moses Roper	University College, Eng.
	David Roselle	Union College
1860-1865	Blanche Harris	Oberlin College
	Charles Thompson	Oberlin College
	Francis Cardozo	University of Glasgow
	Mary Jane Patterson	Oberlin College
	James Muse	Oberlin College
	Thomas Barnswell	Wesleyan University
	Wilbur Fisk Burns	Wesleyan University
	William Powell	N. J. Collegiate Institute
	Fanny J Coppin	Oberlin College
	Thomas DeTucker	Oberlin College
	Thomas Harris	Oberlin College
	David Straker	Codrinton College
	David Baker	Lincoln University
	Charles Dorsey	Oberlin College
	Sarah Woodson	Oberlin College

Total=66 B. A. Between 1823-1865.

Table III

The American Colonization Society

The thought of colonizing or ridding America of free Blacks grew in precise relationship to increase in the number of emancipated slaves. There were, for example, 60,000 free Blacks in the first census of 1790. By 1800 it is estimated there were 108,000 free Blacks in America, by

1810 186,000 and by 1820 over 250,000. Through the efforts of Robert Finley, more than anyone else, the formal organization of the American Colonization Society came to be. Finley was a Presbyterian minister from Basking Ridge, New Jersey, who believed the repatriation scheme was divinely ordained. The Society was organized in December 1816 in Washington, D.C. Finley in a letter to John P. Mumford of New York the year before expressed succinctly his views on the subject:

> Dear Sir,
>
> The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labour to execute plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject, the state of the free blacks, has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness too, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their colour, is against them; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated, while they shall continue among us. Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free black to go and settle, devising for the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they were established? Could they be sent back to Africa a three fold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them--we should send to Africa a population partly civilized and christianized for its benefit. And our blacks themselves, would be put in a better situation. Think much upon this subject, and then please to write me when you have leisure." (5).

Many if not most of the early advocates of colonization conceived their work as humanitarian since it sought primarily to rectify the American dilemma, the removal of Blacks from America, and simultaneously help Christianize and civilize the continent of African (6). George Washington Williams noted, in addition to these objectives, the Society sought: a) to place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which its brings in its train; b) To arrest and destroy the slave-trade; and c) To afford slave-owners who wished or were willing, to liberate their slaves, an asylum for the reception (7).

It is not altogether clear precisely how many Blacks were educated under the general sponsorship of the colonization movement. However, it is known a considerable number were so educated. What follows is tentative listing of some African Americans believed in part or in whole to have been educated by this organization or one of its auxiliaries.

Trained in Medicine	Trained Clergy
John H. Fleet, M. D.	William Cato
William H. Taylor, M.D.	Edward Blyden
Page Dunlop, M.D.	Molliston Clark
Isaac Snowden, M. D.	Benjamin Rush Skinner
Daniel Laing, M. D.	

Samuel Ford McGill, M. D.	Trained in Law
Dempsey Fletcher, M. D.	Garrison Draper
Charles Dunbar, M. D.	Henry W. Johnson
John V. DeGrasse, M. D.	William McCall Davis
David McDonogh, M. D.	Nathaniel Brander
Thomas J. White, M. D.	Other
Ezekiel Skinner, M. D.	Edward J. Rove
W. H. Falbeck, M. D.	
Trained as Educator	
John Newton Templeton	
Cecil Ashman	
Martin H. Freeman	
Washington McDonogh	
Wilburn Burns	
John B Russwurm	
Alexander Crummell	
Augustus Washington	
Chester Thomas	
Washington Davis	

Table IV

The Anti-Slavery Movement

Abolitionist sentiment dates to the establishment of the system of slavery. The modern movement, however, did not take organized national scope until the early 1830s, some twenty years after the formation of the American Colonization Society. Organized anti-slavery societies, nevertheless, existed in a number various northern states and countless other societies existed at county and local levels. The national anti-slavery organization, known as the American Anti-Slavery Society, was organized in December 1833 in Philadelphia. They chose as their president the venerable Beriah Green, professor of religion at Western Reserve College and soon to be president of the Oneida Collegiate Institute.

The Declaration of Sentiments of this organization focus first the existence of that fact that one-sixth of American citizens were in bondage. They noted this was the case after the elapse of more than fifty years since American patriots had freed this country from a foreign yoke oppression. The foundation of the antislavery movement was predicated on the founding principles and precepts enumerated in the U. S. Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, to wit: "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Their Declaration of Sentiments declared that slavery was criminal and full of danger--"It must be broken."

With the formal establishment of the American Anti-Slavery Society that battle lines between the American Colonization Society and this organization crystallized. Under sponsorship of either former or latter organization African Americans were drawn or pulled into one the ideological direction or the other. Ironically, if not prophetically, the American college movement developed concurrently with the colonizationist and abolitionist movements. It was

not long before colleges, universities and professional school were drawn into the larger ideological contest. One of the most remarkable aspects of the American college movement lay in the fact that most presidents and college trustee members were closely and if not intimately aligned with the colonization movement. Consider the following fact regarding the early luminaries of American higher education. The presidents of Yale, Princeton, Harvard, Amherst, Princeton Theological, Allegheny College, Ohio University, Middlebury College, Wesleyan University, Lafayette College, Bowdoin College, University of Michigan, Miami University, The College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia College and the University of Vermont were all members of American Colonization Society either affiliated with the national organization or were active members of their respective state colonization societies. Some of these men such as Heman Humphrey of Amherst College and Duer of Columbia College were in fact presidents of their respective state societies. Still others were honorary Vice Presidents of the National society. These men used their considerable power to advance the interests of the colonization movement or conversely to thwart the educational interests of free Blacks in America who wished to be educated and remain in America.

However, the positions taken by these college presidents often backed by their trustees in opposing to admission and education of African Americans were not uncontested even within their own institutions. Two reasons might account for this. First, is the nature of resistance Blacks employed to frustrate the appropriation of their education for colonizationist's designs. One of the most consistent themes are replete with examples of how Blacks while initially feigning interest in education under auspices of colonizationists some even accepted the offer of educational training but once their education was completed and they were free to do so they forcefully repudiated colonization. The case of John Newton Templeton is a prime and compelling example of this. Templeton was a 1828 graduate of Ohio University. As a young man Templeton met and was befriended by Robert G. Wilson, later president of this university. It is known that Wilson was an active and enthusiastic supporter of colonization and was a member of the level Chillicothe Colonization Society. Wilson befriended Templeton as a young man and invited Templeton study under him at Ohio University, where he sent four years of study. Templeton, at graduation, was chosen to give class commencement oration. The title of his speech was "The Claims of Liberia." When he severed his relationship with the university he likewise severed "commitment" to colonization. Templeton by 1834 abandoned colonization and became secretary then president of the Chillicothe Anti-Slavery Society.

The other factor that acted to counter the opposition to the admission and education of Blacks was the moderating influence of student anti-slavery sentiment on some colleges and university campuses. Student involvement in the admission of Edward Mitchell to Dartmouth College in the mid 1820s is good illustration of this point. Raymond Hall maintains the denial of African Americans to colleges in the 1820s and 1830s was as much more a function of an "unthinking" reflex response than positive racism. The informing logic behind the routine denial of admission of African Americans went something like the following: since no Blacks have ever been admitted to colleges in America therefore Blacks are not to be admitted to colleges in America.. Students at Dartmouth, however, successfully petitioned president and trustees in 1825 to admit the 28 year old Edward Mitchell to that institution. Mitchell graduated from Dartmouth College in 1828 thus making him the first graduate from that institution and one of

the first five African Americans to graduate from college in America (8). It's difficult to precisely determine how influential student activism during this era in opening educational opportunities for Blacks, however, it was not for the lack to interests on their part to do. The stated position of the American Anti-Slavery Society expressly promoted such educational opportunities. It is therefore very likely that student antislavery societies on a number of college campuses likewise had a similar objective. There were active antislavery student organizations at Williams College, Andover Theological Seminary, Western Reserve College, Miami University, Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Auburn Theological, and Amherst College.

I would like to conclude this brief presentation by relating the story of two African Americans educated in the Ante-bellum period. These are stories of two men who exhibited unusual courage, resilience, determination, and commitment. The adult educator will note in the following narratives what the two subjects have in common. Neither were formally given the rudimentary skills in reading and writing. Both were able to gain, through a variety of creative strategies, a modicum of basic education which they developed to the extent necessary to gain access to an institution of higher learning. Secondly, they were both fully adult before they embarked upon their higher experience. Thirdly, they were both extremely self-sufficient individuals. In the first scenario involving James Bradley we note an individual who, while born a slave, managed to purchase his own freedom then support himself through theology school. In the case of Simpson we note the same level of self-sufficiency in that he both worked his way through four years of schooling at Oberlin College, walked 150 miles twice a year from home to school, and then endured while there the cold winter nights of Ohio with little more than the warmth and protection of blanket and hay.

The first story is about JAMES BRADLEY. Bradley was born in Africa, the year of his birth and precise location from where he came in Africa is unknown. He was captured and enslaved around the age of two or three or years of age. The port of embarkation for the captured slaves was Charleston, South Carolina. He was bought and sold several times and was finally owned by a man named Bradley. In his brief biography, James Bradley recounts the cruel treatment and long hours of labor he endured. At age fifteen Bradley's owner died at which point he contrived to purchase his freedom. He worked a full day for the wife of his owner and at nights after only three to four hours of sleep made horse collars out of plaited husks for which he received fifty cents each. With the first amount of money he bought pigs which after he had fattened them sold them. For five years he engaged in the selling of pigs and planting of patches of tobacco which he also sold. By 1833 he raised seven hundred dollars, the stated price for his freedom.

The cruelty of slavery for Bradley was in the fact his master kept him ignorant of everything he could. He states, "I was never told anything about God, or my own soul." While Bradley worked for his freedom he also sought to teach himself to read. He longed to know how to read so he might read the Bible. "I made out to get an old spelling-book, which I carried in my hat for many mouth, until I could spell pretty well, and read easy words. When I got up in the night to work, I used to read a few minutes, if I could manage to get a light. Indeed, every chance I could find, I worked away at my spelling-book." As was often the case among slaves they would conjure unsuspecting white children who could read and write to assist them in

learning these skills. Bradley in this manner took advantage of his mistress' son to teach him to write (9).

Upon obtaining his freedom in 1833, Bradley moved to Cincinnati, Ohio where he learned of the Lane Seminary. He sought and was granted admission into the recently established seminary. He states he was treated kindly by his classmates at Lane. By winter 1834 Lane Seminary was in the thick of a heated discussion over the issues of emancipation and colonization. Students at the seminary determined to debates these issues in a series of evenings devoted first to the merits of immediate emancipation and then to merits of colonization. James Bradley was a speaker for one of these nights. As one present that evening the following was noted, "he addressed us nearly two hours, and I wish his speech could have been heard by every opponent of immediate emancipation, to wit: first that this would be unsafe to the community; second, that "the condition of the emancipated negroes would be worse than it now is--that they are incompetent to provide for themselves--that they would become paupers and vagrants, and would rather steal than work for wages." This shrewd and intelligent black cut up these white objections by the roots, and withered and scorched them under a sun of sarcastic argumentation for nearly an hours, to which the assembly responded in repeated and spontaneous roars of laughter, which were heartily joined in by both Colonization and Abolitionists. Do not understand me as saying, that his speech was devoid of argument. No. It contained sound logic, enforced by apt illustrations. I wish the slanderers of negro intellect could have witnessed this premeditated effort..." (10)

The pressure on the Lane Seminary students was so intense that 95-100 of them left the seminary for the Oberlin Collegiate Institute in the fall and winter of 1834. Eight 8 student from Western Reserve College joined their Lane colleagues in transferring to Oberlin. Their mass exodus and transfer to Oberlin Collegiate Institute and their subsequent demands on the trustees of Oberlin commenced the golden era of African American higher education in the nineteenth century. The transfer of the Lane students, sometimes called the Lane Rebels had certain conditions that redound to the benefit of African Americans. The principal asset the Lane students brought with them to Oberlin was the financial support and backing of Lewis Tappan, then one of the wealthiest men in America and a recent convert to abolitionism. The students demanded Asa Mahan be appointed president, that Charles Grandison Finney and John Morgan be appointed to the faculty of Oberlin. They had two additional demands the first of which would prove relatively easy to comply with the latter would prove more difficult to reach agreement on. The first demand was the assurance that they and faculty of the college would be granted unconditional freedom of speech to discuss any issues of an academic nature. The second demand was the admission of Blacks to the college. All the demands were made of John Jay Shipherd one of the founders of the town of Oberlin and the college. While Shipherd was not a strong advocate of racial equality, he was willing to risk severing his relationship with the college if the trustees voted to reject qualified Black applicants. The vote on the admission of Blacks to Oberlin was taken on February 10, 1835, the total package of demands were approved by one vote. The presence of James Bradley at Lane Theological Seminary no doubt was decisive in why the Lane Rebels pressed for the admission of Blacks to Oberlin. Bradley thus became the first of many Black students to matriculate at Oberlin College (11).

The next case is a brief educational sketch of Joshua McCarty Simpson also a student at Oberlin. Unlike Bradley, Simpson was born free but circumstances of his early life were not appreciably different. Simpson was born about 1820 in Windsor Township, Morgan County, Ohio. At age three his mother was widowed. Wishing to secure his future Simpson was given to Isaac Kay an elderly stone mason. Joshua was be taught the masonry trade by Kay but shortly after coming under his care Kay died. Around this time his mother remarried and young Joshua was sent to live with her two nephews who severely abused and neglected him. Given the unsatisfactory conditions under which he was forced to live under the care the nephews, Simpson was then bound out to a farmer who agreed to give him schooling in return for his work on the farm. Because of the intense prejudice against his presence at the first school enrolled he was forced to leave it. Later he was able to attend school for a short time run by an abolitionist, Bennet Roberts.

He did not remain at this school long enough to adequately learn to read and write. He recounts in his autobiography how he thirsted for knowledge. He satisfied this quest for knowledge by teaching himself how to read. He tells of purchasing school-books, candles, and matches. "I hid them in my bedroom and on winter evenings I would slip out as though I was going to the neighbors, and go round upstairs to bed. I would light my candle and study myself to sleep. Here I made rapid progress. In this way I blundered along until I was twenty years and eleven mouths old."

Simpson learned that the doors of Oberlin College were opened to African Americans. He gathered up his worldly possessions in a knapsack and walked 150 miles to Oberlin. He attended Oberlin College from 1844-1848 but never advanced into its collegiate department. He paid his expenses by swinging an ax and scythe working from three to nine hours per day. After leaving Oberlin he operated a drug store and practiced medicine as a herbal doctor. He advertised himself as a physician and at the time of his death in 1876 had a very successful medical practice which included both black and white patients. Simpson was also very active in local Ohio politics and continued on the side to write songs and poems (12).

The adult educator has much to learn from this unique and interesting historical period when some African Americans boldly and courageously sought higher education opportunities for themselves or members of their group. For those who managed to avail themselves of such educational opportunities did so at considerable personal risk. They endured the social isolation of college life, the dangers of distant travel which increased possibility of their being kidnapped and sold into slavery, and the ubiquity of the mythology of Black intellectual inferiority. Such individuals dared to assert themselves in the face of such formidable barriers of opposition. Such individuals undertook these educational ventures partly braced by the collective wish of their support group and partly fortified by the indomitability of the individual human spirit to endure much if the object of value and worth the effort.

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Conference Presentations

Dr. O. Dozier Henry, Florida A & M University

"The Perspective is the Paradigm: The Congruence of World View and Research Methodology"

Felicia Harris, North Carolina State University

"Racial Uplift and Selfethnic Identity in the African American Community"

Phyllis Ham-Garth, Northern Illinois University

"Feminist Theory and the Social Construction of Knowledge: the Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender in an Africentric Feminist Perspective"

Juanita J. Bailey, The University of Georgia

"Racism and Sexism in the Educational Narratives of Reentry Black Women"

Michael Bell, Ronnie Butler, David Johnson, Victor Lewis, Michael Pinto, Yolanda Ronquillo, Mat Schwarzman, California Institute of Integral Studies

"Can We All Get Along? Multiculturalism, Africentrism and Transformative Education"

Staci Croom, Memphis State University

"Learning in black Greek Letter Societies: An Unrecognized Collaborative Approach to Adult Education"

Teresa Carter, The University of Georgia

"A Comparative Analysis of Planning within Community Based Models for Health Promotion: Implications for African Americans"

Angela Cherry Smith, San Francisco Community College

"African American Achievement Program: Culturally Grounded Academic Program for the Community College African American Learner"

Rosemary Closson, Florida State University

"As Quiet as a Church in Prayer: We come from otherwhere: An Exploration of Professional Identity in two African American Women Adult Educators"

Concurrent Panels

Curriculum issues:

Sherwood Smith, Ball State University

Beverly Blacksher, Cornell University

"Education for Self-Knowledge: Student Self-awareness and the Literature of African American Women"

Community /Employment Issues:

Joye Knight, Northern Illinois University

"Community education, Critical Consciousness and Black Empowerment"

Zira J. Smith, Northern Illinois University

"Self-employment Skills Training: Educational Response to Unemployment of adults with low Skills: A Model for Oral Instruction."

Institutional Issues:

Cynthia Milsap, Northern Illinois University

"The Black Church: A Model of Africentric Adult Education and Leadership Development for personal and Community Empowerment"

Dr. Okechukwu M. Ukaga, Dr. William Henson, Dr. GH, Pezeshki-Radd, Dr. Joan Thomson, Pennsylvania State University

"Inadequate funding of Historically Black Land-grant Colleges: Implications for Adult Education"

Dr. Russell Irvine. Georgia State University.

"African American Higher Education Prior to 1865."

The silhouette of the African elephant on the front cover symbolizes key values intrinsic in the Africentric worldview: wisdom, endurance, strength, intelligence, and love.